

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: NEW YORK OFFICE OF ORIGIN: NEW YORK DATE: 8/30/64 INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/63-10/19/64

TITLE OF CASE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS REPORT MADE BY: JOHN C. SEATON TYPED BY: tms

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C
EXTENSION SP-4 JAM/CAB
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 10-30-89
Comp # 36,871

REFERENCE

Bureau letter to Albany, dated 8/28/64, with copies to all offices.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified "Secret" because it contains information from NY 4092-S*, NY 4099-S* and NY 4212-S*. These sources have furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the NY area and the Communist infiltration thereof. It is felt that this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable positions of these informants in furnishing information of this nature.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

APPROVED: *ggk* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE: 2 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
 6 - New York (100-153735)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-153735-489

Searched _____
 Serialized _____
 Indexed _____
 Filed _____

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	
How Fwd.	
By	

Notations

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-135735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

~~SECRET~~

- (U) It is also classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains a characterization of STANLEY LEVISON as furnished by NY 694-S*. This characterization contains a large amount of concentrated information from NY 694-S* and it is felt that this classification is necessary in order to protect this valuable source. X

For the information of the Bureau, it is noted that due to the necessity of setting forth the identities of those individuals who participated in such demonstrations as the March on Washington and the Powell Shooting demonstrations and characterizing these individuals, a separate appendix section has been utilized in this report for such characterizations. It was felt that to set forth such a large number of characterizations immediately following mention of the individual in the details of the report, would have detracted from the continuity of the report. However, in some instances where it was felt for purposes of clarity and ease in reading, the characterizations of individuals have been included immediately after the mentioning of the name. The appendix contains all of the individuals who can be characterized.

Extra copies of this report have been designated for the NYO in the event that local dissemination is desired in the future.

The riots in NYC in July, 1964, were treated as a whole rather than separating them into individual demonstrations inasmuch as they resulted basically from the Powell Shooting. The Powell Shooting and the resulting demonstrations have been covered in detail in order to present a clear overall picture of these events and the subsequent developments.

- B -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

The Special Agents who observed CP members in Washington, D.C., on 8/28/63, were:

[REDACTED]

ROBERT FEUER

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed individuals departing New York City on 8/28/63, from various locations were:

[REDACTED]

ALBERT E. FALLER

[REDACTED]

JAMES B. COLBY

[REDACTED]

RICHARD V. BCLAN

THOMAS J. MC NIFF

[REDACTED]

JOHN F. MAHER

[REDACTED]

GENE R. RALPH

[REDACTED]

JOHN R. HAWKEN

[REDACTED]

NEIL P. DIVERS

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed individuals departing Ridgefield, Connecticut, and Peekskill, New York,

- C -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

on 8/28/63, were:

WILLIAM A. FLYNN, JR.
JAMES E. GORDON
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Logs for the foregoing activity are maintained in 100-151548-Sub A.

The Special Agents who observed persons departing various locations in New Jersey on 8/28/63, were:

RALPH DAVID LIGHT, JR.
[REDACTED]

BRYAN F. JINNETT, JR.
[REDACTED]

GUY RANDOLPH BECK
RUSSELL H. HORNER
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed [REDACTED] entering the Central Plaza on 8/6/61, were [REDACTED] and RICHARD V. BOLAN.

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed [REDACTED] on 7/28/60, were [REDACTED] and CHARLES [REDACTED]

The Special Agent who observed ALEX ZAROFF on 3/4/63, was EDWARD J. MULHOLLAND.

The Special Agent who observed [REDACTED] on 8/7/62, was JOHN B. COULTON.

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who identified the photograph of [REDACTED] were [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

~~SECRET~~

The following are the identities of the Special Agents who observed individuals at the March for Democratic Schools on 5/18/64:

<u>Special Agent</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Persons Observed</u>	
[Redacted]	22 West 55th St.	[Redacted]	b6 b7C
JAMES B. COLPY		MIKE DAVIDOW BAYARD RUSTIN JOHN ART	
[Redacted]	City Hall, NYC	[Redacted]	
WILLIAM J. BARRON		CONNIE BART PHIL BART	
[Redacted]		[Redacted]	b6 b7C
ROBERT D. SHEA		MIKE DAVIDOW	
[Redacted]		[Redacted]	
		HARRY FISHMAN	
		[Redacted]	b6 b7C
		ARNOLD JOHNSON	
		[Redacted]	
		FELIX KUSMAN	
		[Redacted]	

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

~~SECRET~~

Special Agent

Location

Persons Observed

[redacted]
STANLEY LEVISON

[redacted]

b6
b7C

PAUL ROBESON, JR.

[redacted]
BAYARD RUSTIN

[redacted]

b6
b7C

WILLIAM WEINSTONE
[redacted]

The Special Agents who observed [redacted] and [redacted] distributing "The Worker" at the Board of Education were [redacted] and WILLIAM J. BARRON.

b6
b7C

The Special Agent who obtained copies of the literature being distributed at the City Hall mass rally was [redacted]

b6
b7C

- F -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

~~SECRET~~

The Special Agent who observed [redacted] selling copies of "Freedomways" magazine and MIKE DAVIDOW crossing Brooklyn Bridge, was [redacted]

b6
b7C

(U) Former [redacted] furnished both reliable and unreliable info in the past. ~~X~~

b7D

SAS [redacted] and PETER C. MITESSER, JR., obtained photographs of individuals entering and leaving the Chateau Gardens, meeting place of the NY State CP Convention 1/25-27/57. Photograph of [redacted] was identified by SAS ARTHUR J. GREENE, JR. and JAMES E. GORDON.

b6
b7C

SAS [redacted] and [redacted] observed the demonstration at United States Steel on 11/27/63.

b6
b7C

The SA's who observed the SWP picketing activities 5/23/63, were [redacted] and JOHN W. ROBINSON.

The SA who observed the SWP picketings on 9/20/63 and 6/1/64, was [redacted].

The SAS who observed the SWP street meeting 9/5/64, were [redacted], LEWIS GREY BROCKMAN, JOHN C. SULLIVAN & [redacted].

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed [redacted] Midwest Field Secretary, CORE, and GUS HALL on 4/20/64, were [redacted] and [redacted].

b6
b7C

SA's who observed YAWF demonstration on 11/21/63, were JOHN J. TUCKER and A. LEWIS BARNETT.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

~~SECRET~~

The following are the SAS who observed individuals at the World's Fair on 4/22/64:

The Special Agent who observed [redacted] was [redacted]

The Special Agent who observed [redacted] and [redacted] was [redacted]

b6
b7C

(U) The New York Office has reviewed CPUSA National Office statements and other available records for the years 1956 through 1961, to determine the monies allocated for Party work in the racial field. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that due to the accounting procedures used, namely, the failure to chanelize expenses for travel, literature, postage, etc., into particular fields of endeavor, a completely accurate picture cannot be presented. ~~X~~

For the interest of the Bureau, however, the following figures were developed:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Negro Commission</u>	<u>Work in South</u>
1956	\$ 1,586.11	\$ 500.00
1957	647.74	2,237.96
1958	292.46	1,391.95
1959	981.59	1,393.94
1960	10,288.49	382.50
1961	7,191.66	265.00
1962	355.25	

~~X~~

(U) In connection with the drastic reduction of expenditures for the work of the Negro Commission from a high of \$10,288.49 in 1960, to a low of \$355.25 in 1962, there has been much evidence of apathy on the part of Commission members. It is noted that at a meeting of ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

(U) leading CP functionaries on 7/24/63, in Chicago, Illinois, GUS HALL commented that the National Negro Commission (NNC) of the CPUSA is not functioning and has practically ceased to exist. HALL was asked if pressure might be put on BEN DAVIS to get the NNC to hold a meeting and he indicated that he doubted this could be done. X

(U) [CG 5824-S*; 7/24/63] X

The foregoing information was not included in the report, because its inclusion might possibly jeopardize this valuable source.

The SA who received the PLM announcement on 12/7/63 was SA ALESIO SAVIOLA. The SA who received the flyer on 8/8/63, was SA JOHN W. ROBINSON. The agents who observed a PL street meeting on 12/7/63 and 4/18/64, were SAS [redacted] and JOHN W. ROBINSON. SAS [redacted] and ALESIO SAVIOLA observed the PLM demonstration on 8/6/64. SA RAYMOND F. MOHR received a flyer on 5/18/64 and SA ELLSWORTH F. GUSTAFSON received the flyer on 5/1/64.

b6
b7c

(U) It is to be noted that by Bureau letter dated 10/7/63, the Bureau requested that NY 694-S* be interviewed with a view to eliciting from him hard, firm, documented facts relating to definite, important, specific results of accomplishments which the CP, collectively or members individually, have achieved with the American Negro since 1/1/63, as contrasted to and separated from their activities, programs, planning and efforts to influence. To this end NY 694-S* was interviewed and the results furnished to the Bureau by letter dated 10/18/63. The results of the interview are not being included in this report in view of the fact that it represents in large part the opinions of NY 694-S* and the inclusion of such material might tend to jeopardize this valuable source. X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) NY 694-S* on 10/14/63, reported that ARNOLD JOHNSON, CPUSA Legislative Director, advised that before the March on Washington, JAMES JACKSON member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and editor of "The Worker" conferred for eight hours with JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, concerning the March on Washington Movement. ~~X~~

J

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The Special Agents who observed demonstrations are as follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location of Demonstration</u>	<u>SAS Observing</u>
7/23/64	Vicinity of 9th Precinct	JAMES B. COLBY ROBERT D. SHEA
7/20/64	Vicinity of United Nations	[Redacted] ROBERT D. SHEA
7/24/64	Vicinity of City Hall	[Redacted] THOMAS J. MC NIFF [Redacted]
7/25/64	Vicinity of 73rd St., and Amsterdam Ave.	[Redacted]
7/28/64	Vicinity of 84th Avenue and 38th Street	[Redacted] A. LEWIS BARNETT

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

The Special Agent who observed [Redacted] on November 13, 1959, was THOMAS J. MC NIFF.

b6
b7C

[Redacted] was interviewed on 3/9/54, by SAS [Redacted] and [Redacted].

~~SECRET~~
K

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The following information is not being included in that section of the report concerning the Negro American Labor Council as it is felt that the nature of the information might tend to disclose the identities of [redacted] and [redacted].

b7D

(U) It was ascertained that on April 5, 1964, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had met with [redacted] to discuss the NALC and its present program.

b6
b7C

(U) LIGHTFOOT told [redacted] that consideration was given by the CPUSA to have a meeting of all CPUSA members who are active in the NALC prior to the NALC convention in Cleveland in May, 1964, but at the present time, no decision has been made as to whether this meeting should be held.

b7D

(U) [redacted] April 7, 1964

(U) It was ascertained that on April 16, 1964, JAMES TORMEY and [redacted] discussed the election of the NYNALC. TORMEY told [redacted] not to worry about pushing the election of [redacted] and himself for the Executive Board of the NYNALC because it was more important than the DOSWELL slate be elected.

b6
b7C

b7D

(U) [redacted] April 16, 1964

(U) It was ascertained that on April 21, 1964, JAMES TORMEY and [redacted] had a discussion concerning the NYNALC election and that TORMEY was advised that the NYNALC CP caucus supported the DOSWELL slate.

b6
b7C

L

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) TORMEY stated that the NYNALC CP caucus should not jump into any new programs which might bring about the opposition of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and he advised that it was impossible to plan any immediate programs since the NALC convention will be held soon and that convention matters will consume most of the time of the NYNALC members. ~~X~~
- (U) [redacted] TORMEY commented on the report that [redacted] gave him concerning the NYNALC election indicating that it was a good report. ~~X~~
- [redacted] April 21, 1964
- (U) It was ascertained that on April 20, 1964, JAMES TORMEY discussed the NYNALC election which was held on April 17, 1964, with [redacted]. ~~X~~
- (U) TORMEY advised that at a meeting of the NYNALC CP caucus which was held at [redacted] apartment, they had discussed the election and decided that the election was a victory for them and that he, TORMEY believed that "we" had played an important part in the victory. ~~X~~
- (U) TORMEY stated that he feels that [redacted] did not realize his problems in the election until the group from the NYNALC CP caucus had alerted him. ~~X~~
- (U) TORMEY said that the members of the NYNALC CP caucus must attend the meeting of the NYNALC on April 22, 1964, where they should stress the need for unity and stress the point that everyone in the NYNALC should pull together behind the leadership. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

COVER PAGE

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) He said members of the NYNALC CP caucus should attempt to start a membership drive and should attempt to get the NYNALC more active in trade union matters. ~~X~~

(U)

[redacted] April 20, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) It was learned that at a meeting with [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] which was held at the Jefferson Book Shop, 100 East 16th Street, New York City, on May 15, 1964, they discussed the coming convention of the NALC to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 29-31, 1964. ~~X~~

(U) [redacted] advised that he could probably finance the trip to the convention if he could get some help to pay the difference between what the train would cost and what it costs to fly there. ~~X~~

(U)

[redacted] May 18, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) It was ascertained that on May 27, 1964, [redacted] [redacted] and JIM TORMEY discussed the coming convention of the NALC at the Horn and Hardart Automat on 14th Street near Fourth Avenue, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) [redacted] said that he had financial problems in connection with his attendance at the convention and TORMEY told him that [redacted] could probably get [redacted] money to attend the convention. ~~X~~

(U) TORMEY said that it was very important that [redacted] attend and that he should take good notes at the convention in order that he can give TORMEY a good report on the convention, inasmuch as TORMEY cannot depend on [redacted] making a good report on the convention. ~~X~~

N

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) [redacted] TORMEY advised [redacted] that he expects [redacted] will have to give a report to the Trade Union Commission, CPUSA, on the convention after his return from Cleveland, Ohio. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] May 28, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U) It was ascertained that on May 27, 1964, [redacted] met with [redacted] at the Jefferson Book Shop. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] advised [redacted] that he had come to him at the suggestion of JIM TORMEY to discuss the possibility of getting some money to help pay his expenses to the National NALC Convention. [redacted] said he wanted to go to the convention and that TORMEY wanted him to go. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] stated that he would give [redacted] about forty dollars. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] May 28, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U) It was ascertained that on May 28, 1964, [redacted] visited with [redacted] at the Jefferson Book Shop, 100 East 16th Street, New York City. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] gave [redacted] forty dollars to help defray expenses for his trip to the convention. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] June 1, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U) It was ascertained that on June 4, 1964, [redacted] and JIM TORMEY had a meeting at the Horn and Hardart Automat on 14th Street near Fourth Avenue, New York City. ✕

b6
b7C

0

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) [redacted] gave TORMEY a "run down" on what he had accomplished at the convention. [redacted] told TORMEY about being in contact with [redacted] of the NALC and that he, [redacted] distributed leaflets at the convention concerning the brewery situation at the Schaefer Brewery in Brooklyn, New York. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

[redacted] ✕
June 4, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U) It was ascertained that on June 5, 1964, that [redacted] met with [redacted] at the Jefferson Book Shop, 100 East 16th Street, New York City, where RUBEL is employed. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] told [redacted] about his trip to the convention and [redacted] advised [redacted] that he wanted [redacted] to give a report on the convention to the Kings County CP on June 12, 1964, at the Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York, which [redacted] agreed to do. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

[redacted] ✕
June 10, 1964 ✕

b6
b7C

(U) It was ascertained that on June 9, 1964, [redacted] and JIM TORMEY met at the Horn and Hardart Automat on 14th Street near Fourth Avenue, New York City. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) TORMEY told [redacted] that the meeting of the NYNALC CP caucus would be held on June 13, 1964, and that [redacted] should make sure that [redacted] attends this meeting. ✕

b6
b7C

P

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) [redacted] showed TORMEY a letter he had received from [redacted] Cleveland, Ohio, concerning [redacted] efforts to set up a meeting between the Schaefer Brewing Company officials, representatives from the NALC and a group from the hiring hall of the Brewery Local of the Teamsters Union. TORMEY told [redacted] that he should discuss this matter with [redacted] from the NALC and have him decide who would represent the NALC at this meeting. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] gave TORMEY a report on the National Convention of the NALC. He told him [redacted] had been reelected as [redacted]. He said that [redacted] and himself were the only ones from the NYNALC CP caucus who attended the convention. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) TORMEY stated that there had been disagreements among the "State Staff" and that they had disagreed with him on the actions taken in the NYNALC. TORMEY said that [redacted] reelection bears out his argument that he has been operating correctly in the NYNALC which he described as the defeat of the [redacted] forces in the NYNALC bears out what he believes is the correct method. He said the fact that the NYNALC and the Chicago Chapter are working closer also shows success of his program. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) TORMEY said that [redacted] would make a report on the NALC Convention at the June 14, 1964, meeting of the Trade Union Commission, CPUSA. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) TORMEY stated that the NYNALC could assist in the struggle in the brewery situation, because they can put more pressure on the unions. ~~X~~

b7D

(U) [redacted] ~~X~~
June 10, 1964

Q

~~SECRET~~

COVER PAGE

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

It was ascertained that, on June 16, 1964, that JIM TORMEY and [redacted] met at the Horn and Hardart Automat on 14th Street near Fourth Avenue, New York City. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

TORMEY stated that he did not like the report that [redacted] gave at the Trade Union Commission. He said he could not understand why she stated that people in NYNALC CP caucus had gotten very little help from the Party leadership. TORMEY said that he had been working with the NYNALC CP caucus for some time. He wondered what she thought he was doing over this period of time. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

TORMEY told [redacted] that he should attempt to broaden the Schaefer boycott. That he would like to get the NYNALC into it. TORMEY stated that in any leaflets that are distributed all of the blame should be placed on the Schaefer Brewing Company and the action toned down on the union's participation. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

TORMEY told [redacted] that he would like to have him think of how to spread this brewery struggle into the labor field as a whole. He also told [redacted] that he wants him to think of how we should take it up with the NYNALC and what methods should be used. TORMEY advised [redacted] that he should again take the brewery situation to the Executive Board of the NYNALC and if necessary write them another letter. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

[redacted] June 17, 1964 ~~X~~

b7D

(U)

It was ascertained that on August 5, 1964, JIM TORMEY and [redacted] met at the Horn and Hardart Automat, 14th Street near Fourth Avenue, New York City. TORMEY stated that he had wanted to see [redacted] to arrange to go with him to the meeting of the NYNALC CP caucus that evening. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

R

~~SECRET~~

COVER PAGE

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

It was further ascertained that on August 5, 1964, [] met with [] at the Jefferson Book Store, 100 East 16th Street, New York City. [] told [] that he should make every effort to attend the meeting of the Kings County CP Council to be held at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

[]
August 7, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U)

It was ascertained that on May 20, 1964, at a meeting of the NYNALC that [] was voted a delegate to the NALC convention in Cleveland, Ohio. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

Furthermore, JAMES TORMEY had advised [] on May 21, 1964, that the CPUSA deems it a must that [] attend the NALC Executive Board meeting that A. PHILIP RANDOLPH has scheduled in Cleveland on May 28, 1964, and the convention. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

In addition, TORMEY advised [] that he would try to obtain financial assistance for her trip. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

[]
May 21, 1964 ✕

b7D

(U)

It was ascertained that on May 25, 1964, JAMES TORMEY had given [] seventy five dollars for her expenses incurred attending the NALC Convention and had stated that he would try to obtain twenty five dollars more. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

TORMEY in addition, it was ascertained had advised [] that CPUSA officials wanted to see her prior to her departure for Cleveland, to give her instructions concerning her trip. ✕

b6
b7C

(U)

[]
May 27, 1964 ✕

b7D

S

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

It was ascertained that on May 27, 1964, [] met with JAMES TORMEY and WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, New York District CP leaders in labor and Negro matters, respectively and at that time was told that [] and [] would lead the CP caucus of the NALC at Cleveland, Ohio. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

PATTERSON and TORMEY gave [] three proposals that they hoped the NALC would accept and for which the NALC CP caucus should work.

b6
b7C

1. The Government should take the responsibility for the apprenticeship training program.
2. That delegations should be formed and sent to Washington, D.C., for the implementation of this program.
3. That a non-white membership drive campaign should be started for the NALC.

(U)

PATTERSON and TORMEY both were very critical of the lack of progress of the NYNALC CP caucus, not only as to everyday work of the NYNALC, but also in offering ideas for the NALC Convention. ~~X~~

(U)

[] replied to this criticism by stating that at no time had the CPUSA New York District Board or leadership and the NYNALC CP caucus arranged for a full discussion concerning the plans that were to be carried out at the NALC convention. [] stated that she had previously spoken not only to state, but national leaders concerning the convention, but had been put off by the statement "we will discuss this at a later date". ~~X~~

b6
b7C

T
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

Both PATTERSON and TORMEY agreed with her and stated she should have secured the CPUSA line prior to this time and if there had been any questions they could have been settled before she left for the convention. They both stated they would try to remedy this situation, and that they would bring this up at the CP caucus of the NALC. ~~X~~

(U)

[redacted] June 2, 1964 ~~X~~

(U)

It was ascertained that on June 28, 1964, JIM TORMEY met with [redacted] and [redacted] at 784 Madison Street, Brooklyn, New York. TORMEY stated that [redacted] made a report on the NALC Executive Board meeting which was held on June 27, 1964. TORMEY said that [redacted] reported on the "State of Race Summit Conference" which is to be held in October in Washington, D. C., and she reported that [redacted] case concerning the Schaefer Brewery Company was to be taken up under the direction of [redacted] of the NALC Grievance Committee. TORMEY stated that he was very pleased with [redacted] report and the work that she is doing in the NALC. ~~X~~

(U)

[redacted] suggested according to TORMEY, that the New York District CP Negro Commission and the New York CP Trade Union Commission should get together to formulate a Party policy concerning the NALC. However, he stated, he informed her that for all intents and purposes, there was no Negro Commission. ~~X~~

(U)

He said that [redacted] suggested that the Party should have either a one day or two day conference on civil rights in which all members at the present time involved in mass activities concerning civil rights could meet and discuss the problems facing them. That the NALC could be discussed at this time. ~~X~~

U
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U)

TORMEY said that he informed [redacted] that this was a good idea and that he would have it discussed at the New York District CP Staff Meeting in the immediate future. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

[redacted] ~~X~~
June 29, 1964

b7D

V
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[Redacted]

NY 100-151548-1A1

Characterization of

[Redacted]

JCE NORTH

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

NY T-2
NY 2359-S*

Characterization of BAYARD RUSTIN

NY T-3
NY 2858-S*

NY T-4

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:
TED BASSETT

[Redacted]

GEORGE MORRIS

[Redacted]

b7D

b6
b7C

W

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

NY T-4 Cont'd.

~~SECRET~~

File Number Where Located

Characterization of:

[Redacted]
ROBERT THOMFSON

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

CONNIE BART

[Redacted]

BETTY GANNETT

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

157-892

Characterization of:

JESSE GRAY

[Redacted]

MURRAY ROSENBERG

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

(U)

~~*~~

~~*~~

X

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

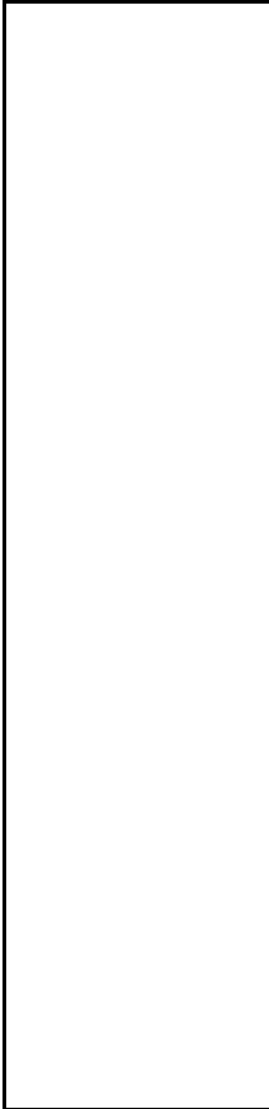
NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-4 Cont'd.



(U)

~~⊗~~ b7D

Y

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-4 Cont'd.

Characterization of:

[Redacted]
MIKE DAVIDOW
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-151548

Characterization of [Redacted]

b6
b7C

Characterization of:
RASHEED STOREY
WILLIAM ALBERTSON

~~b6
b7C~~

(U)

NY T-5
NY 2384-S*

NY T-6
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Z

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-7
Former [redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[redacted]

EUGENE GORDON, Sr.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[redacted]

b6
b7C

~~✕~~

NY T-8
[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[redacted]

b6
b7C

AL

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~✕~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-9

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-10

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-151548-73
100-151548-74

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-79303-1361

[Redacted]

~~b7D~~

Characterization of:
JESSE GRAY

100-151548-1162

[Redacted]

b7D

100-151548-56
100-151548-57

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

BI

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-11 Cont'd.

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b7D

100-151548-17
100-151548-18

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

JAMES TORMEY

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

Crown Heights Forum

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

cl

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

NY T-12 Cont'd.

File Number Where Located



Characterization of:



(U)

~~SECRET~~
b7D

b6
b7C

D1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-13

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

EUGENE GORDON, Sr.

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

~~b6
b7C~~

ED SMITH

[Redacted]

b7D

100-79303-1361

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-128815-1213

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

E1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~Q~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-13 Cont'd.

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

DORETTA TARMON

NY T-14

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

100-151548-160
100-151548-161

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

FEN DAVIS

[Redacted]

~~b6
b7C~~

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

MURRAY ROSENBERG

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

F1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-15

[Redacted]

Panel Source

[Redacted]

NY T-16

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:
PAUL NOVICK

[Redacted]

NY T-17

[Redacted]

100-151548-274
100-151548-275

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

157-892-1A7

[Redacted]

NY T-18

[Redacted]

100-151548-21
100-151548-22

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

b7D

(U)

~~SECRET~~

G1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-19
CG 5824-S*

100-151548-9

Characterization of:
JOSEPH BRANDT
MIKE DAVIDCW

[Redacted]

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

157-892

Characterization of:
ABRAHAM JNGER
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
PAUL ROBESON, JR.
PYMAN LOMER
HENRY WINSTON

100-151548-30
100-151548-31

Characterization of:
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[Redacted]

100-151548-30
100-151548-31

100-151548-254
100-151548-255
100-151548-316
100-151548-317

b6
b7C

b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

(U)

NY T-20
[Redacted]

NY T-21
[Redacted]

NY T-22
[Redacted]

HL

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-22 Cont'd.

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

JAMES DOLSEN

[Redacted]

~~b6
b7C~~

(U)

NY T-23

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

11

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-24

[Redacted]

PSF

100-151548-47

100-151548-48

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-25

[Redacted]

100-151548-47

100-151548-48

100-151548-226

100-151548-227

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

MORTIMER DANIEL RUBIN

100-7629-Sub D-419

b6
b7C

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY T-26

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-27

[Redacted]

100-151548-176

100-151548-177

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-28

[Redacted]

100-151548-185

100-151548-186

b7D

[Redacted]

J1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-28 Cont'd.

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-151548

NY T-29

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b7D

100-151932-72

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-30

[Redacted]

100-151548

NY T-31

[Redacted]

100-151548

NY T-32

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

K1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-32 Cont'd.

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-147372-1B13 (11)

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b7D

100-151548-1658
100-151548-1732

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

L1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

NY T-33

[Redacted]

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-34

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-35

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-151548-455

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

M1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-36

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

100-79303-1361

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

157-892

100-151715-15

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-37

[Redacted]

NY T-38

[Redacted]

NY T-39

[Redacted]

100-151548

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

~~(S)~~

~~(S)~~

N1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-40

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

~~(U)~~

NY T-41

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-42

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~R~~

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-43

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

01

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-44

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

157-892

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-151548-277

Characterization of:

PHIL BART
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
GUS HALL
JAMES E. JACKSON
IRVING POTASH
MORTIMER DANIEL RUBIN

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

JAMES TORMEY
ISIDORE FIBBY NEEDLEMAN

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

STANLEY LEVISON
JOHN ABT

[Redacted]

LEM HARRIS

(U)

NY T-45
NY 694-S*

NY T-46
NY 2362-S*

P1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-47
NY 1750-S*

NY T-48
NY 2010-S*

NY T-49
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

LEW MOROZE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-50
NY 2416-S

NY T-51
NY 3431-S*

NY T-52
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b7D

~~b6
b7C~~

b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Q1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-53

100-151548

[Redacted]

NY T-54

100-151548

[Redacted]

NY T-55

100-151548

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY T-56

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-57

100-151548

[Redacted]

NY T-58

100-151548

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-59

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

PHIL BART

[Redacted]

JACK STACHEL

157-892

b7D

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~
b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

RL

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-59 Cont'd.

Characterization of:
JAMES ALLEN

[Redacted]

ALPHAEUS HUNTON

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-60

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-61

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

JAMES LUSTIG

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-62

[Redacted]

Characterization of:
BILL ALBERTSON
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
JAMES TORMEY

b7D

S1
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~/~~

~~/~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-63

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-64

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

CONNIE BART

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-65

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b7D

[Large Redacted Box]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

T1
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-66

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

NY T-67
NY 1973-S*

NY T-68

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-69
NY 2083-S*

Characterization of:
ALBERT BLUMBERG

NY T-70

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-71
Former

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

U1
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-72
NY 1173-S*

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-73
[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-74
[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

100-151932-13

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-75
[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

b7D

(U)

V1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-75 Cont'd.

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

(U)

NY T-76

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

TOMMY DENNIS

NY T-77

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-78

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

ANTHONY BIMBA

100-79303-1361

NY T-79

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

CHARLES GIFT

NY T-80

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-81

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

WL

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-82

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

b7D

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

FELIX KUSMAN

Characterization of:

GEORGE MEYERS
LOUIS WEINSTOCK

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-83
NY 1305-S*

NY T-84

[Redacted]

NY T-85

[Redacted]

NY T-86
NY 2760-S*

NY T-87
Observation Plant,
Central Plaza Annex,
New York City,
August 16, 1961

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

X1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-88
NY 2551-S

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-89

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-90
NY 2017-S*

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-91
Former ND 425-S

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-92

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-93

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-49636-230

[Redacted]

100-153249-4

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

Y1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-94
[redacted]

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

NY T-95
NY 1697-S*

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-96
[redacted]

Characterization of:
[redacted]

(U)

NY T-97
[redacted]

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-98
[redacted]

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

100-7629-4971
100-7629-6173
100-7629-6231

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-99
SA THOMAS J. MC NIFF
who observed [redacted]
in attendance at CP
meeting

Characterization of:
[redacted]

Z1

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-100

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

(U)

NY T-101

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-102

Photo surveillance

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-103

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-104

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-105

[Redacted]

NY T-106

[Redacted]

100-151548

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-107

Former [Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-108

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

New York City
(By Request)

A2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-109
CSNY 426-S

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-110
Photo surveillance
By SA EDWARD M. ANCIN
August 19, 1959

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-111
NY 3707-S*

NY T-112
Photo surveillance
New York State CP
Convention
January 25, 1957

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-113

NY T-114

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-115

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-116

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-117

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

B2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~C~~

~~C~~

NY 100-153735

Identity of Source

NY T-118

[Redacted]

File Number Where Located

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-119
NY 1226-S*

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

(U)

NY T-120

[Redacted]

NY T-121

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-122
NY 3202-S*

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-123

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-124
Law firm of
Cadwalader, Wickersham and
Taft, 14 Wall Street,
New York City
(from social workers file
on [Redacted])

157-892

NY T-125

[Redacted]

157-892

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-126
NY 4521-S*

c2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-127

157-892

[Redacted]

"New York Daily News"

NY T-128

NY 2353-S*

NY T-129

[Redacted]

NY T-130

157-892

[Redacted]

Panel Source

NY T-313

BSS, NYCPD

Technical Source

NY T-132

NY 4499-S*

NY T-133

157-892

[Redacted]

NY T-134

157-892

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-135

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

(U)

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

D2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-136

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U)

NY T-137
NY 4399-S*

157-892

Characterization of:

NY T-138

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Harlem Defense Council

100-147372

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

E2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-139
NY 4407-S*

NY T-140
NY 3401-S*

NY T-141
NY 4569-S*

NY T-142
NY 4047-S*

NY T-143
[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

NY T-144
SF 2711-S*

NY T-145
[Redacted]

157-892

Los Angeles, California

NY T-146
[Redacted]

157-892

(U)

~~*~~

~~b6
b7C
b7D~~

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

F2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-147

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

100-4013-1A2401

Characterization of:
Militant Labor Forum

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-148
NY 2440-S*

Characterization of:
FRED HALSTEAD

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-149

[Redacted]

157-892

b7D

NY T-150

[Redacted]

157-892

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

G2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~[Handwritten mark]~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-150 (Cont'd)

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

"Workers World"

100-13739-1638

[Redacted]

b7D

100-137309-1855

100-137309-1974

100-137309-2011

[Redacted]

100-151548-1732

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

157-892

b7D

NY T-151

[Redacted]

NY T-152

[Redacted]

NY T-153

NY 4212-S*

Characterization of BAYARD RUSTIN

H2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-154

[Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

MALCOLM X
JAMES SHABAZZ

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-155

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-156

Former [Redacted]

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

~~b6
b7C
b7D~~

NY T-157

Former [Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-158

ALBERT BROWN
Chairman, Columbia
University Labor Youth
League in 1954

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-159

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-160

NY 3486-S*

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

NY T-161

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-162

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-163

Not used

I2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~2~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-164

[Redacted]

(By Request)

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-165

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-166

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted]

100-97078-5112

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-167

Former

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-168

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

NY T-169

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

100-153715-54

100-4013-1A2325

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

J2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-170

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-72803-1561
100-153249-6

[Redacted]

100-153249-4
100-153249-6
100-6051-12
100-6051-23
100-6051-34

NY T-171

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-151548-1671

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

b7D
b7E

K2
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-171 (Cont'd)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-153249-4
100-79303-986

b7D

(U)

NY T-172

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-173

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

100-7629-6140

NY T-174

[Redacted]

100-4782-183
100-4782-196

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-175

[Redacted]

100-9501-1
100-9501-2
100-9501-3
100-9501-4
100-9501-5

NY T-176
NY 4042-S*

NY T-177
NY 4043-S*

L2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-178

[Redacted]

Characterization of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

100-26603

b7D

NY T-179

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-180

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

[Redacted]
100-7629-Sub D-386

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

~~NY T-181
Confidential Mail Box~~

~~157-1227-1A1~~

NY T-182

[Redacted]

100-147963-170

(By Request)

NY T-183
Confidential Mail Box

100-147963-214

NY T-184

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-185

[Redacted]

Instant Report

Chemical Bank, New York Trust Company, 5th Avenue and 20th Street, New York City

b6
b7C
b7D

M2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-186

[Redacted]

100-63229-1016
97-1869-199

b6
b7C
b7D

Chemical Bank, New
York Trust Company,
1 East 42nd Street,
New York City

NY T-187
NY 1286-S*

NY T-188

[Redacted]

b7E

NY T-189

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-190
NY 2418-S*

NY T-191
NY 4305-S*

NY T-192

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-193

[Redacted]

100-147963-1A-3
100-147963-1A-4

b6
b7C
b7D

Panel Source

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-194

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-195

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

N2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~X~~

~~X~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-196
PH 548-S*

NY T-197

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-198

[Redacted]

LA 100-42162

NY T-199

[Redacted]

LA 100-42162

NY T-200

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Area]

NY T-201

[Redacted]

NY T-202

[Redacted]

NY T-203

[Redacted]

NY T-204
NY 4550-S*

NY T-205

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-206
NY 3810-S*

NY T-207
NY 3580-S*

NY T-208
NY 4092-S*

~~SECRET~~

b7D

b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-209
Anonymous source of
WFO, as set out in report
of SA [redacted]
7/19/50, WFO, re
"NLG; IS-C"

Characterization of HARRY H.
WACHTEL

b6
b7C

NY T-210
NY 1190-S*

Characterization of:
HARRY WACHTEL

b6
b7C

(U)

NY T-211
AT 1379-S*

NY T-212
AT 1381-S*

NY T-213
AT 1383-S*

NY T-214
[redacted]

b7E

NY T-215
[redacted]

100-153219-1A1

b7D

NY T-216
[redacted]

Characterization of:
[redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-217
[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

P2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-218
CSNY 496-S

100-4013-1A2319-2370

Characterization of:

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-219
NY 4075-S*

Characterization of GEORGE
BREITMAN

(U)

NY T-220
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-221
[Redacted]

100-4013-16970
100-7629-6001

~~b7D~~

NY T-222
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of ED SHAW

NY T-223
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-224
NY 4281-S*

NY T-225
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Characterization of [Redacted]

Q2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-226

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-227
NY 2595-S*

NY T-228

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

(U)

NY T-229
BSS, NYCPD

100-4013-18109

Characterization of Harlem
Solidarity Committee

NY T-230

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-231

[Redacted]

PSI

100-152081-1A2

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-232
NY 4171-S*

NY T-233

[Redacted]

100-151548-613
100-151548-1199
100-7629-SUB D-651

b7D

NY T-234

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-235

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-236
NY 3878-S*

R2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

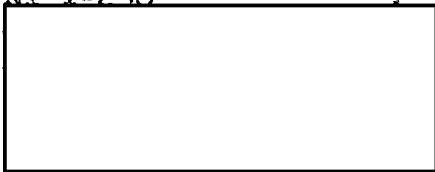
~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-237
NY 4187-S*

NY T-238



100-7629-1B303
100-7629-1B306

b6
b7C
b7D

(By Request)

(U)

NY T-239

Former

100-7629-SUB D-419

b7D

NY T-240
Trash Cover,
1505 Race Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

100-7629-SUB D-419



NY T-241



100-7629-SUB D-419

b6
b7C
b7D

(By Request)

NY T-242

Former

100-7629-SUB D-204

b7D

NY T-243



100-394-22

b6
b7C
b7D

(By Request)

S2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-244

Former [redacted]

100-556-1A10

b7D

NY T-245

[redacted]

100-7629-SUB A

b6
b7C
b7D

(By Request)

NY T-246

[redacted]

Characterization of [redacted]

~~b6
b7C
b7D~~

(By Request)

NY T-247

Former [redacted]

Characterization of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-248

NY 2471-S*

NY T-249

CG [redacted]

Characterization of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-250

NY 3246-S*

NY T-251

Intelligence Division,
Bureau of Inspectional
Services, Chicago PD

Characterization of [redacted]

b6
b7C

(U)

T2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-252

[Redacted]
ERICK WALK [Redacted],
Farmington, Connecticut.
[Redacted]
Former PSI of New Haven

Re Eighth World Youth Festival

b6
b7C

NY T-253
NY 2078-S

Characterization of [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

(U)

NY T-254
Former [Redacted]

Characterization of:
[Redacted]
THOMAS KAHN

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-255
Former [Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

~~b7D~~

NY T-256

[Redacted]

Characterization of THOMAS KAHN

NY T-257
NY 3155-S

Characterization of [Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-258

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]
[Redacted]

NY T-259

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-260
Former [Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]
[Redacted]

U2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-261

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-262

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-263

[Redacted]

Characterization of MARGARET BURROUGHS

b7D

NY T-264

[Redacted]

Characterization of MARGARET BURROUGHS

(U)

~~X~~

NY T-265
NY 4535-S*

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

~~X~~

NY T-266

[Redacted]
(by request)

Characterization of ALPHAEUS HUNTON

NY T-267
NY 4408-S*

NY T-268
NY 3158-S*

Characterization of

[Redacted]

NY T-269

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-270

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-271

[Redacted]

Characterization of [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY T-272

SAS JOHN W. ROBINSON
and JOHN J. TUCKER, JR.,
who searched room after
conference ended

100-147372-1B15 (2)

(U)

NY T-273

NY 3939-S*

NY T-274

Confidential Mail Box

100-147372-1B9 (6)

NY T-275

[Redacted]

100-147372

ESS, NYCPD

b6
b7C

NY T-276

[Redacted]

100-147372-1517

b7D

NY T-277

NY 3246-S

Characterization of [Redacted]

b6
b7C

W2

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

LEAD

NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report
pertinent activity in the field of Communist Influence in
Racial Matters for the quarterly period ending 2/1/65.

-X2* -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:JOHN C. SEATON
10/30/64

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #:

100-153735

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Synopsis:

- (U) Plans and Communist Party (CP) line with respect to racial situation as determined from national meetings of CP, USA, as well as statements made by CP leaders, at National and District levels with respect to racial matters set forth. Information from "The Worker", "Political Affairs," and "Freedomways" reflecting CP position in racial matters set forth. Information concerning policies and activities in racial matters of PLM, SWP and WWP included. Information concerning the Communist participation in the March on Washington set out and information concerning the POWELL Shooting Demonstrations included. Information relative to Communist penetration and influence in racial and other organizations set out. ~~S~~

- P -

Details:

Characterizations of individuals and organizations are set forth in the appendix of this report.

Descriptive information tending to characterize an individual or organization has been included in the narrative where deemed advisable for clarity and ease in reading.

~~SECRET~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGES

I. Communist Strategy

A. Communist Party, USA

- (U) ~~1.~~ Plans, Strategy, Party line made at National level of the Party.....2-87
- ~~2.~~ Plans, strategy made at District and lower level meetings.....88-124
- 3. Plans, strategy as revealed in Party publications.....125-161

B. Other Communist Groups

- Progressive Labor.....162-172
- Socialist Workers Party.....173-215
- Workers World Party.....216-222

II. Communist Tactics

- A. Demonstrations at New York State Hospital..... 223
- B. March on Washington..... 224-299
- C. Demonstrations and National Day of Mourning for Birmingham Children..... 300
- D. Demonstrations by Advance..... 301-302
- E. Demonstration at 24th Precinct..... 302
- F. Boycott of New York City Public Schools.. 303-305

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGES</u>
G. World's Fair Demonstrations.....	306-308
H. March for Democratic Schools.....	309-314
I. Powell Shooting Demonstrations.....	315-448
III. Communist Penetration and Influence In Racial and Other Organizations	
A. Committee to Advance Racial Integration.	447-448
B. Congress of Racial Equality.....	449-486
C. Freedom Now Party.....	487-489
D. Harlem Community Council on Housing.....	490-494
E. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.....	495-524
F. Negro American Labor Council.....	525-587
G. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.....	588-595
H. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference.....	596-606
Appendix	
Characterizations of individuals.....	607-742
Characterizations of organizations.....	743-843

~~SECRET~~

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

~~SECRET~~

A. Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA)

- (U) 1. Plans, Strategy, Party Line on National Level of CPUSA ~~X~~

(U) On March 9, 10, 1963, a meeting of the Communist Party (CP) Caucus, within the NAACP and members of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA, was held in New York City, for the purpose of formulating CP strategy within the NAACP. The main report was given by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, whose remarks included the following: ~~X~~

(U) There is unity among the Negro people as to what demands should be made to obtain full citizenship but there are differences on what tactics to pursue. ~~X~~

(U) The South is still the key to the Negro problems because the basic problems are more acute in the South. A national conference of all Negro organizations is urgently needed at this time. It is his belief that a convention or conference of Negroes could unify all the currents in the Negro movement, such as the Muslim movement and the Robert Williams approach and result in a program which would contain the best principles in each of the three main areas of thought. These three areas are the integrationists whose organizations include the NAACP, the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), the separatists as represented by the Muslims, and the Williams approach which advocates the arming of Negroes for self-defense. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIS offered the following proposals as possible resolutions at the 1963 National Convention of the NAACP: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) 1. That the NAACP ask the Supreme Court for a more specific deadline ending discrimination and segregation. ~~X~~

(U) 2. A resolution requesting the President for his plan to enforce the Supreme Court decision. ~~X~~

(U) 3. A resolution asking for a test of Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution which guarantees a republican form of government and pointing out those Southern states where Negroes are denied the right to vote. ~~X~~

(U) 4. That the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment be enforced which Amendment calls for a reduction of representation in states where the voting franchise is denied. ~~X~~

(U) 5. That the Federal Government withhold its finances from states that sanction discrimination. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIS, at the conclusion of the meeting, in his summation, stated that they should be apprised of the fact that the Party's National Committee proposed unqualified support for the NAACP labor position. ~~X~~

(U) It was decided that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT would represent the National Committee at the NAACP National Convention and that [redacted] would act as the contact man for resolutions and individuals in attendance. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-98
March 12, 1963] ~~X~~

On February 22, 1963, a public meeting was held at the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California, which featured BENJAMIN DAVIS who was billed as a spokesman for the CPUSA. Representatives from the NAACP, CORE and the Muslim movement were also on the platform and spoke. This meeting was held under the sponsorship of the First Unitarian Church, in cooperation with "Discussion Unlimited" under the title, "Alternative Paths to Negro Freedom".

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) Following this meeting, DAVIS commented that it was a historic meeting in that for the first time in many years, representatives of different segments of the Negro community were present on the same platform with a representative of the CP. Although they did not fully agree on every issue, it was DAVIS' conclusion that the fact that all met together and talked over problems was a great advance. DAVIS was pleased that these representatives had agreed to support his proposal which was to call a national conference on Negro unity to work out a minimum program, in which all Negro organizations could participate. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIS also appreciated the fact that, while in Los Angeles, he had the opportunity to talk with the local leader of the Muslim group. He said that this private meeting had been arranged by a leading Los Angeles Communist functionary. During this private meeting, DAVIS was able to discuss the role of the Muslims and of the CP in the Negro community. DAVIS stated that while the Muslims arrive at incorrect conclusions, their statement of the problems of the Negro people is correct. He said that this, fundamentally, is recognition of the fact that the Negro people in the United States present a special problem which cannot be resolved by any general resolution of the class struggle. He said the problems of the Negro people must be resolved by special attention and special working methods. He mentioned that this, originally, was the position of the CP, in the 1920's but that the Party lately has failed to recognize this special character. He added that, since the Party gave up the concept of self-determination, a position largely held by the Muslims, the Party has not replaced that concept with a more forceful position. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-195
February 27, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) On February 7, 1963, a meeting of leading CP functionaries was held in CP Headquarters, New York City. At this meeting, BENJAMIN DAVIS made the following comments: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) He desired to pose the question as to what the image of the Party is to the Negro people as well as whether or not the Party is a militant fighting organization as regards the struggle for Negro rights. This is a serious problem and he personally feels that the concept of the CP in the Negro community today is not that of a fighting militant Party. ~~X~~

(U) The Party should put out a pamphlet on the question of peaceful coexistence which pamphlet should go into the whole question of the relationship of the national movement of the Negro people in the struggle for peace. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-2
February 7, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) An informal discussion of CP functionaries was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 9, 1963, at 1345 West Susquehanna Avenue. BEN DAVIS was present at this discussion and expressed the opinion that the Party leadership should be centered on the Negro Question in order to correct the lack of militancy in the field of Negro rights. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-196
February 9, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) On the night of February 25, 1963, BENJAMIN DAVIS met with members of the Moranda Smith Section, Southern California District CP in Los Angeles, California. At this meeting, he led a discussion on a number of questions, among which were questions concerning the image of the CP in the Negro community, whether the Negro people come to the CP with problems, whether the CP has improved its position since the 17th National Convention, and whether the CP can say that the Negro people see the Party as the most militant in the fight for Negro rights. DAVIS said that the CP national office needs answers to these questions which can be supplied only by Party workers in the field. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) During the discussion which followed these questions, there was a general agreement that the CP image in the Negro community at the present time is weak, that in recent years the Negro liberation movement has moved forward but that the CP, because of prosecution, has become so intent on security that it has slipped away from being actively involved in the struggles of the Negro people. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-197 and NY T-198
February 26, 1963

NY T-199
March 1, 1963 ~~X~~

- (U) At a meeting of leading CP functionaries held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on January 11, 1963, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT gave the initial report and his remarks included the following: ~~X~~

- (U) In his opinion, one of the necessary things for a major breakthrough in connection with the struggle against Jim Crow is the need for a realignment in the Democratic Party. There should be a more independent posture on the part of the Negro masses in the Democratic Party. In addition, to achieve their independence, the working class must play a certain role. "We have to work our policy for the mass movement and be leaders of the united front." ~~X~~

- (U) BENJAMIN DAVIS commented on LIGHTFOOT's talk and said that LIGHTFOOT had made a distinction between the NALC and the trade union movement. He said they could not abandon the NALC, that their job is to increase the effectiveness of the NALC in combatting discrimination in trade unions. He commented that it is unfortunate that they did not have a comrade assigned to the Negro labor movement and recommended for consideration, the assigning of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to the whole question of the NALC and the Negro labor alliance, but especially the NALC. He recognized that this decision would have to be made by the Party's National Board ~~X~~

(U) NY T-2
January 11, 1963 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) On February 11, 1963, a meeting of leading functionaries of the CPUSA was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. At this meeting, IRVING POTASH noted that because of sharp differences on the matter of Negro-labor relations, at a previous meeting, the question had been referred back to the National Board and that JACK STACHEL had prepared a new draft to be read at the current meeting. ~~X~~
- (U) JACK STACHEL presented a talk on the subject, "The Growing Militance and Successful Struggles of the Negro People". STACHEL's remarks included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) The Negro people will no longer accept any substitute for their full citizenship and equality; they will not accept tokenism or gradualism. Negroes realize the inter-relationship of their struggle and the struggle of all Americans for peace, democracy and social progress. ~~X~~
- (U) Trade unions have not succeeded in obtaining a program of equal rights for Negroes. A joint struggle of Negroes and labor within the trade unions themselves and in Congress for equal rights for Negro people everywhere will help defeat new anti-labor legislation now being proposed. This is why the CP supports all proposals by the NALC, the NAACP and other Negro people's organizations for using every and all methods, including existing laws, to compel all institutions, including trade unions, to grant full and equal rights to Negro workers. "We consider the above policy as a principal guide for all Communists and we hope it will become the guide for all trade unionists". ~~X~~
- (U) STACHEL's draft was discussed and STACHEL proposed that a committee consisting of himself, JAMES JACKSON, IRVING POTASH and WILLIAM PATTERSON edit the draft. This committee was approved. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
February 11, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) On March 13, 1963, a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CPUSA, was held in CP Headquarters, New York City. At this meeting WILLIAM PATTERSON reported on the President's message to Congress which he said dealt with certain phases of the civil rights question, notably, the Negro vote, the Negro's right to education and the Negro's right to jobs. PATTERSON's additional comments included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) He regards the President's invoking the aid of the National Labor Relations Board on behalf of equal rights as a very important point which should be analyzed by the CPUSA, with extreme care. The Administration has failed to have the Justice Department act to implement the Supreme Court decision dealing with education for Negroes. The Administration must take positive steps to remedy the great disproportion of unemployment among Negroes. There must be the "sharpest criticism" of the President for his failure of the use of powers he possesses to end Jim Crow. ~~X~~
- (U) BENJAMIN DAVIS also spoke at this meeting and suggested that a subcommittee be formed to prepare a series of proposals. There was general agreement on this suggestion and the subcommittee was established. ~~X~~
- (U) NY T-2
March 13, 1963 ~~X~~
- (U) During the period of May 21-23, 1963, an enlarged meeting of the NEC, CPUSA, was held in New York City. At the opening session held on May 21, 1963, at the George Washington Hotel, New York City, GUS HALL gave the main report. During this report, he made the following observations: ~~X~~
- (U) The struggle for world peace has become closely interwoven with the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and the struggle for human rights. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The breakthrough in Birmingham by Negro citizens is an historic, social, political and economic achievement. The struggle in the South is unifying the working class and opening the South for unionization. The end of Jim Crow in Birmingham undermines the foundations of the ultra-right Republican - Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. ~~X~~

(U) The leadership of the movement in Birmingham has used the right tactics, but such tactics can continue only if white Americans fully realize that the Negro struggle is also their fight and support it fully. In addition, the Federal government must use its Constitutional authority to guarantee the rights of Negro citizens. An all people's mobilization is needed and united fronts should be formed in every community to act in defense of democracy. ~~X~~

(U) The end of racism in the South would eliminate one of the two main sources of ideological contamination of the people. With proper mobilization, especially of trade unions and churches in the North, a death blow can be dealt to segregation in the North and South. It is both a ~~loss~~ and an opportunity for "our Party". ~~X~~

Within the trade union movement, there is an improvement in the understanding of the cardinal nature of Negro labor unity. There is a growing understanding of the need for a Negro-labor coalition. Trade unions must get into the struggle of the Negro citizens in the South and North. A national conference of all labor should be called now to place the trade union movement squarely behind the Negro citizens' struggle.

(U) At the session of May 23, 1963, which was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City, BENJAMIN DAVIS presented a main report on the Negro question. During this report, he made the following comments: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) The Communists are still affected by "routinism" while the face of America is being changed by the struggle of the Negroes. They should support the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham, should demand action against Governor WALLACE, Police Commissioner CONNOR and other ultra-right racists and should work in the broad movement of the Negro people. ~~X~~
- (U) They should have a program of immediate and long-range demands which call for the decisions of the Supreme Court being implemented and should demand that the Supreme Court rule all ordinances protecting segregation as unconstitutional. ~~X~~
- (U) "Our thesis" should be that there is a new stage in the struggle for democracy in the Negro and people's movements in the United States, that there is a revolutionary situation and, even though they cannot find all the Leninist reasoning for this situation, they will attempt to show that it is so. ~~X~~
- (U) The Negro people are on the offensive and "we" must continue to help keep this going even though "we" consider it a peaceful revolution. ~~X~~
- (U) The civil rights revolution is the number one problem in the nation and the Party has a big role to play in it. It is the only organization that sees beyond today and can point to the future. There is a need to rebuild the Party in the South and they have to get more young people to go there. There is still a Party in the South even if the organization seems to be weak. ~~X~~
- (U) They must have a long-range perspective and need a National Party Conference on Negro work. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) With respect to the Muslims, (The Nation of Islam) present struggle presents an opportunity for the Party to "cut them down to size". The Party cannot have ideological coexistence with the Muslims because it does not agree with the idea of separate equal rights. The Muslims are racists, are against Negro-white unity and are playing a divisive role, but they influence many people, and, therefore, "we" must try to reach their members. ~~X~~

(U) GUS HALL, in summing up the three day NEC meeting, on May 23, 1963, stated that, on the question of the Party giving leadership to the mass movement, the task is to seize the main link at the present time, which is the Negro struggle for equality. He said that the Party knows and understands, because of Marxism-Leninism, the significance of seizing the main link and why the struggle will affect everything in this country. He added that they must mobilize their full resources to end Jim Crow, must win over the white workers and neutralize the Southern workers. ~~X~~

(U) A motion was adopted approving HALL's report as a guide to the future work of the Party as was a motion approving DAVIS' report, which was considered to be a major contribution to the struggle of the Negro people and which will become a guide for Party work. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-19
May 21-23, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) At the third day's session of the NEC, CPUSA meeting held in New York City on May 23, 1963, BENJAMIN DAVIS reported on Negro matters with emphasis on the activities in Birmingham. During his report, DAVIS stated that the CP should have a program to use the events in Birmingham to its advantage. He stated that the President has all the authority he needs to act under the Constitution and that the Party must develop a movement to bring pressure on the President to exercise this authority. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) In his report, DAVIS came out in favor of [redacted] ideas of the Negro arming in self-defense and of a more violent campaign as opposed to the Party-accepted methods of MARTIN LUTHER KING. This part of DAVIS' speech was criticized by those present and his report was adopted except for the section dealing with the [redacted] approach. X

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-59
May 23, 1963] X

(U) On May 23, 1963, GUS HALL presented a summary of the three day session of the NRC, CPUSA meeting, during which he stated that, in the struggle for democracy, the most important point is the struggle of Negro Americans, which will affect every facet in the country. He also stated that they are the leaders and should attempt to lead the whole class. He called for the Party to win over white Americans to the struggle and, in speaking of Negro-white unity, stated that Communist ideology and education must make them an ideologically unified group. X

(U) [NY T-59
June 5, 1963] X

(U) On April 10, 1963, a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CPUSA was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. At this meeting, WILLIAM PATTERSON noted the need for militancy in support of the Negro people, but indicated that success would not be possible without considering an alliance with other forces. X

(U) [NY T-2
April 10, 1963] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) On May 8, 1963, a meeting of the National Board of the CPUSA was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. The agenda included a discussion on desegregation activities in Birmingham, Alabama. The main statement on Birmingham was presented by WILLIAM PATTERSON. He stated that the CPUSA should try to break down the isolation of the Muslims and other nationalist groups on this matter pointing out that this is a fight for all Negroes and all Americans. ~~X~~

(U) JACK STACHEL commented that the Party had gotten in touch with union people and urged them to take action in this matter. He said that JAMES JACKSON had written an editorial in "The Worker" on the Birmingham situation, which gives the Party a clear view of what to do. He stated that the important thing to see is that all Party people, everywhere, participate in the Birmingham situation. ~~X~~

(U) BENJAMIN DAVIS commented that the situation in Birmingham calls for a new type of mass action by the Party. He said the Party must involve masses of people who are not Communists. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-1
May 8, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At the meeting of May 8, 1963, held at CP Headquarters, New York City, IRVING POTASH spoke following the statement of WILLIAM PATTERSON and said that the Party should not go through a situation such as this without making a special mobilization because to do so would have a bad effect on the development of their work. He called for some initiative to be taken from the Party Headquarters and in Harlem, adding that, as yet, nothing has been done. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
May 8, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) On May 15, 1963, a meeting of the National Board of the CPUSA and invited guests, was held in CP Headquarters, New York City. BENJAMIN DAVIS gave a report on the situation in Birmingham describing the current struggle of the Negro people there as a new phase of the Negro people's struggle for democracy and said that everything Party leaders do or say should be within the framework of this new phase. His additional remarks included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) A revolutionary situation exists in this country today, not one in which there will be a civil war, but a revolutionary situation in which it is now possible to have a transformation of the status of the Negro people in capitalist cities. The Party must consider it as such, act accordingly, and do whatever is necessary to bring this situation to a democratic solution. A victory has been obtained in Birmingham and the Negro people want this victory cemented. The Party has the duty to encourage Negroes in every possible way and to support Negro leaders' demands that State Troopers be withdrawn and replaced by Federal troops. ~~X~~
- (U) The Party cannot have any peaceful coexistence with the Muslims who are against Negro-white unity. "I am for working with them wherever it will advance Negro unity. I will even work with their leaders on some given, restricted program. But the point I would emphasize at the present time is that there can be no peaceful coexistence with the ideology of the Muslims". The Muslims are disunited and now is the time "to hit them" since they have withdrawn while the rest of the Negro people are more unified than ever. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) There should be some action by the "Comrades". The President should be asked to proclaim an end to segregation and the Supreme Court should set a deadline on this. Serious attention should be given to the proposal that the Government use the right of eminent domain to acquire property and break up the Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos. In addition, no business or individual who practices discrimination should be allowed to continue in business. The Party should fight for this program in all the districts. ~~X~~
- (U) There is a need for a national conference to plan ways of doing now what has suddenly exploded into possibilities. ~~X~~
- (U) NY T-2
May 15, 1963 ~~X~~
- (U) A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on June 19, 1963, which meeting was opened by JAMES JACKSON, who gave a report on the importance of the Negro liberation movement and the importance of getting legislation abolishing segregation in all public places. His remarks included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) There is a need for the President to place Federal troops in the South to combat police brutality. In the absence of such a move, it will be necessary for Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama to organize effective "mob self-defense". A cooperative relationship must be established among Negro organizations. ~~X~~
- (U) BENJAMIN DAVIS also spoke, stating that everyone is calling the Negro question a revolution. He said that there is a transition of the Negro from second class to first class citizenship going on and that "we are witnessing a revolutionary movement in our country but we are just not in it...." DAVIS added that the biggest question is not disagreement or disunity among Negroes but the fact that there are not enough white allies coming into the struggle. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) IRVING POTASH commented that the criticism against the Party is valid, that it is correct that they are not coming forward, not writing and not giving leadership. He said the leadership of the Party should explore all means for all of them to play a bigger role in the struggle "which we have not done yet".

NY T-2
June 19, 1963

(U) On June 16, 1963, the first day's session of a National Youth Conference of the CPUSA, was held at Academy Hall, New York City. During the evening of June 16, 1963, a report was given on tasks in the Party youth program. The report proposed a new recruiting program to run from September to January with a goal of increasing membership by fifty per cent with emphasis on Negroes.

NY T-176
June 16, 1963

During the third day's session of this conference held on June 18, 1963, the current struggle of the Negro for full integration was discussed. Notice was taken of the Negro American Labor Council March on Washington, D.C., scheduled for October, and it was proposed that all in attendance should, on returning to their districts, work to obtain support for this march. Another proposal was made that a long-range plan be formulated now for demonstrations in Washington, D.C., in the event of a filibuster on civil rights.

At the fourth day's session of the conference, held on June 19, 1963, DANIEL RUBIN listed the objectives of Party youth, one of which was Negro-white unity. To accomplish these objectives, he said that they must examine certain issues, one of which was Negro and civil rights.

(U) NY T-177
June 18, 19, 1963

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) At a meeting of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois State Board on July 2, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, BEN DAVIS gave an estimate of the NAACP Convention as well as his impressions of the general struggle for Negro freedom. His remarks relating to the Convention included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) The Convention, in progress, is reflecting the great upsurge in the Negro movement. ROY WILKINS has committed the NAACP to a continuation of mass demonstrations. What is new in the Negro movement is that a solid unity has developed on the method for achieving mass, direct demonstrative action. The Convention reflects the goal of a unified approach on the part of all Negro organizations. ~~X~~
- (U) Nowhere in the Convention, thus far, has anyone come up with an analysis of the problems and the direction for the Negro movement that points clearly to the main enemy and how to develop struggles to overcome them. Unemployment, for example, is a mass problem. The Party should call for a mass solution to the problem which includes continued demonstrations against Jim Crow and ideologically answering questions as to where the jobs are to come from. ~~X~~
- (U) A meeting of the Steering Committee of the Illinois CP, active in NAACP matters, was held on July 3, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, at which BEN DAVIS spoke, discussing problems much in the same way as he had at the Illinois State Board meeting on July 2, 1963. In addition, he indicated that he would like to see the following resolutions pushed at the Convention: ~~X~~
- (U) 1. A resolution asking the NAACP to initiate a suit against Southern legislatures making them illegal. ~~X~~
 - (U) 2. A resolution calling for the Federal Government to withhold financial aid from all states that practice Jim Crow in any form. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

3. A resolution calling for the Executive Branch of the government to guarantee that every Negro citizen will vote in the 1964 elections. ~~X~~

4. A resolution calling for the NAACP to declare January 1, 1964, as a deadline for the repeal and nullifying of all Jim Crow laws. ~~X~~

The source advised that the CP had no effective machinery to place their proposals in motion. However, [redacted] was on the NAACP Resolutions Committee and had been instructed to do what he could. The proposal chosen by the Party to concentrate on is the first resolution mentioned above. If this resolution was introduced at the Convention, DAVIS had been instructed to support it and if it did not pass in the Committee he had the right to issue a minority report on the floor of the Convention. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

[NY T-20
July 3 and 5, 1963] ~~X~~

A CP of Illinois State Board meeting was held in Chicago, Illinois on July 16, 1963. At this meeting, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT commented on the NAACP Convention and made the following observations: ~~X~~

The Convention is part of the new development in the Negro field which is the development of mass direct action. The Party should have as its policy that of trying to influence the NAACP to be the quarterback of the team of Negro organizations taking part in the Negro struggle. The Party should also lend its support to the recruiting of Negro youth into the NAACP. An additional new feature coming from the Convention was the call for the NAACP to fight actively for the defeat of candidates not pledged to civil rights which means that the NAACP can become an independent force in the electoral struggle. ~~X~~

[NY T-20
July 17, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CP, United States of America (USA), held in CP Headquarters, New York City, on July 10, 1963, BEN DAVIS reported on the recent Convention of the NAACP. His remarks included the following: ~~X~~

(U) The Convention generally was successful and constructive. Communists must be the unifying force in the integration struggle and "We must concentrate on moving our Party and the left force to develop more consciously a division or segment of the Negro movement at the grass roots level of the NAACP branches". The Party should issue a statement characterizing its fight in the integration struggle, calling on all segments of the American people to get into the struggle and calling on them to resolve the question of the democratic way of life. A copy of this statement should also be sent to the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, D.C. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-46
July 10, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) WILLIAM ALBERTSON spoke on "The Worker" and its financial plight at a meeting of CP members, on July 11, 1963, in New York City. During his talk he said that many copies of "The Worker" were distributed at the recent NAACP convention. He stated that BEN DAVIS, JAMES JACKSON and WILLIAM PATTERSON were in the audience at this Convention, that their presence was known, and they were well received. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-12
July 12, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) A meeting of CP members and invited guests was held at the Central Plaza, 111 Second Avenue, New York City, on July 11, 1963, and admission to the meeting was by invitation only. GUS HALL was the principal speaker and during his speech stated that there are three major currents in the United States today, namely:

1. The Negro struggle and all it involves.
 2. Automation.
 3. The peace struggle and its development.
- ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) He added that all three, although separate, are related and will draw closer together as time goes on. ~~X~~

(U) HALL also mentioned that what has started in Birmingham has led to a "people's democratic revolution", which is his term for the Negro movement today. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-12
July 12, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At the meeting of July 11, 1963, held at the Central Plaza in New York City, GUS HALL spoke on many topics including the Negro revolution. Speaking mainly on the Negro situation, HALL said that he was proud of the role "Our Party" has played in the revolution. He paid tribute to BEN DAVIS, WILLIAM PATTERSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and other Negroes who had attended various demonstrations as onlookers. ~~X~~

(U) According to HALL, the Party will not change its tactics, but will move as the Negro revolution moves until it is ahead of this revolution. He stated further, that he sees this Negro revolution as a means of achieving Socialism in this country. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-34
July 16, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) The speech that GUS HALL gave at the Central Plaza, New York City, on July 11, 1963, was entitled "A Policy for Action". From the nature of his speech, it appeared that the lower ranks of the Party are in disagreement with and unenthusiastic about the present line of the CP. HALL's speech was a defensive one in which he openly argued the correctness of the present CP position and the content of the CP line in relation to such matters as civil rights, peace and trade union matters. ~~X~~

(U) With respect to the Negro question, he said the CP would not join groups who are against the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement or the NAACP or those which advocate a violent approach. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) In answer to a question as to why the CP was not experiencing an upsurge of activity among its Negro members in view of the upsurge of activity in the Negro movement in the country, HALL said that "Our people" are in the thick of the present battle by Negroes for civil rights and that "Our Negro leaders" are more respected than ever. ~~X~~

[NY T-59
July 12, 1963] ~~X~~

- (U) On July 27, 1963, a CP meeting was held in Chicago, Illinois, to hear GUS HALL speak on important political and ideological issues facing the CP. HALL, during his speech, commented on the Negro question in general and the current Negro struggles and upsurge of the Negro people which are making possible the unity of the Negro and white working class, thereby removing a barrier to the further expansion of democracy and socialism. His remarks on these topics were spaced throughout his talk and included the following: ~~X~~

- (U) The role of the Party is appreciated in the Negro movement because it is a force which does not take sides among Negro factions, but rather attempts to keep splits from occurring among Negro organizations. ~~X~~

- (U) The Party must not forget that economics is the central issue of the Negro struggle. The unity of Negro organizations must first be solved and then the unity of Negro and white, followed by the unity of the Negro movement with the labor movement. The economic question will be the unifying factor which the ruling class will try to use to split the Negro and white. ~~X~~

- (U) With respect to the "miracle of Birmingham", a democratic revolution of the people is taking place and henceforth, this Negro movement will affect every election in the country. These are no miracles only processes. These new developments are strengthening democracy and socialism and weakening the ruling class. In order for Communists to adjust to these new developments, the Party must assess things with precision. The strategy and tactics of the Party must stem, not from fantasy, but from facts. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At the 17th National Convention, CPUSA, the Party dropped the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt. If "We" had persisted in this policy "We" would have been in the same position as the Muslims today. However, "We" changed our approach and today we are able to be in the mainstream of the Negro movement .

Following HALL's report, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke briefly and called on the Party to do everything possible to promote Negro-white unity.

(U) NY T-200
July 31, 1963

(U) At the meeting of July 27, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, GUS HALL was introduced by the chairman of the meeting, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. The speech that HALL was to present was the same as a speech which he had delivered previously explaining the results of a meeting of the National Board of the CP. HALL spoke of three main currents in the country today, these being the struggle for equality, the economic problems resulting from automation and the struggle for peace. HALL viewed the struggle for equality as one that is causing a unification of forces. He added that an assessment of the political situation must begin with the struggle for equality since victory here is necessary for a democratic America. He said that a class ideology would emerge with a recession of racism and the obstacle of reaction would be removed. This would remove an obstacle to Socialism and increase the possibility of a peaceful transition to Socialism.

(U) HALL also noted that in the struggle for equality there exist the problems of segregation and automation. He listed three inter-relating problems, namely, the economic, Negro-white unity, and Negro-labor unity.

(U) NY T-201
July 29, 1963

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a meeting of leading functionaries of the CP, held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on June 26, 1963, BEN DAVIS discussed the Negro problem and made the suggestion that a national conference to take up this question be held after Labor Day. He suggested that it be held in the Midwest so that comrades from the Far West could attend. He further suggested that there should be one special session with youth with the point of view of emphasizing youth participation in the Negro struggle. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIS also spoke at the conclusion of the meeting and said that the Federal Government would have to step in and stop the terror in the South which is preventing Negroes from registering to vote. He stated that the Negro movement is a great upsurge in democratic action and that "We" must find some way to get together with Negro leaders and show them that time is "running out". ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
June 26, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) The regular bi-weekly briefing session of CP leaders and CP people active in Party press and in mass information media was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on July 12, 1963. At this meeting, JACK STACHEL gave the main report during which he spoke of the tremendous development of the civil rights program, the difficulties it has overcome and the obstacles in its path. He said that this movement has set in motion a whole segment of the American people in a new direction and that the movement presents an excellent opportunity to develop CP influence in the Negro field. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-59
July 17, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CPUSA, held in CP Headquarters, New York City, on July 24, 1963, BEN DAVIS commented on the Negro situation. His remarks included the following: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) The most important contribution which the CPUSA can make to the Negro struggle is to bring about the development of a response from organized labor. He was certain that a response from the organized labor movement is necessary "for the fulfillment of the Negro people's revolution".
- (U) A manifesto of about 200 words characterizing the historic development of the Negro people's movement should be published. A full day should be devoted to developing policy and attitudes on some of the big questions in the Negro movement. "It just isn't possible that everything else in America is shaken up and our Party goes on in the same way".
- (U) At this same meeting, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated that, in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people, the CPUSA, has a glorious history and the Party should publicize a review of this history showing that the CPUSA, in fact, started the movement. She noted that the Party has always fought for the abolition of segregation and was in fact fighting for this when no one else was even thinking about it.
- (U) [NY 100-2
July 24, 1963]
- (U) At a meeting of the CP of Illinois State Board on July 2, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, EEN DAVIS gave his impressions of the general struggle for Negro freedom. His remarks included the following:
- (U) The Party has concentrated too much on what is happening within the Negro movement. What it should do is begin concentrating on how to organize white support for the movement. The Party should begin writing on what this movement means to white Americans.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The economic features of the struggle against Jim Crow are the dominant ones. Therefore, the Party should indicate to the masses how the economics of the country are tied to the struggle for Negro rights. ~~X~~

The Party should:

- (U) 1. Struggle for the unity of the movement and for the continuation of direct mass action.
2. Fight to isolate the Muslims (Nation of Islam) liberation movement. ~~X~~
3. Agitate for a time table in the struggle.
4. Fight to increase the participation of the Negro working class in this struggle.
5. Help, in local areas, to involve masses in local action against Jim Crow.
6. Bring the issue of peace to the Negro movement.

(U) The country faces a serious crisis as a result of the Negro struggle. The Party has not as yet organized itself and does not understand the nature of this crisis. It should seek out more definitive answers to the perspectives of the movement. The Party should issue a statement on the character of the crisis and how it sees a way out. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-20
July 3, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) On July 27, 1963, a CP caucus meeting, relative to work in the NALC, was held in New York City. At this meeting, JIM TORMEY commented that the NALC represents Negro workers and that the CP places major importance on the NALC. He said that in the past, the CP has been lax in Negro work and will correct this situation. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) TORMEY commented that his main job in the Party now is NALC work and that from 60 to 70 percent of his time is spent on this work. He said that both he and [redacted] are "State" Board members whose main job is the CP caucus in the NALC. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) NY T-12
July 29, 1963 ~~X~~

- (U) At a meeting of leading functionaries at CP Headquarters, New York City, on June 26, 1963, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated that there was a need for a Negro Commission in the CP in order to understand the problems of Negroes. She said that "We" only have a few Negro CP members and are in danger of being accused of white chauvinism. She added that a Negro Commission "could take on the Muslims in the name of the Party". She indicated that the Party had missed an opportunity in not making a real ideological contribution to the Negroes. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-12
June 26, 1963 ~~X~~

- (U) During a meeting which involved a leading member of the CPUSA, on July 8, 1963, it was stated by this functionary that during the recent NAACP Convention, BEN DAVIS complained that, although he had taken over the Negro Commission, he was not happy. DAVIS contended that the Party is lagging behind in its program and is doing nothing for the Negro people in their present struggle. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-19
July 8, 1963 ~~X~~

- (U) At a meeting of leading CP functionaries on July 24, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, GUS HALL commented that the NNC of the CPUSA is not functioning and has practically ceased to exist. HALL was asked if pressure might be put on BEN DAVIS to get the NNC to hold a meeting and he indicated that he doubted this could be done. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-19
July 24, 1963 ~~X~~
~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) On August 14, 1963, PHIL BART advised that he was in the process of working on a "draft" which is concerned with the Negro question and which he had discussed with BEN DAVIS. He said that the idea was to call a national conference of Negro workers, and that a month prior to the conference, they would have documents prepared for discussion and a basic one would make clear the Party's line and direction in this field. He said they would present a two front program which would be; (a) "Our" contribution and approach to the entire struggle of jobs and civil rights; (b) A crash program of spreading the Party among the Negro people which would recognize that they are not doing any mass recruiting now. He said that this crash program would include the following: ~~X~~

(U) 1. That they immediately train 25 young people to be involved in leadership on a national and district level.

2. That the Party become a movement in the South as well as in the North. ~~X~~

3. That consideration be given to forming an organization in Negro communities based on discussion and experience.

(U) BART indicated that they may not be able to do this immediately, but that it may be possible to get a Socialist Club organized and to encourage every other form of organization along these lines. He said the conference must be held this year and that they needed months to prepare a document to discuss it. He added that the whole movement will participate and that it is even possible the document could be made public. He said they must shock the Party into realizing that this is not a normal situation. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-47
August 14, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The sources made available a letter dated July 11, 1963, on the letterhead of the CPUSA, addressed "To All Districts" and signed "Fraternally Yours, CPUSA". This letter enclosed a reprint of an article by JAMES JACKSON which appeared in the July 7, 1963, issue of "The Worker" entitled, "A Fighting People Forging New Unity". This letter contains the following:

"We want to urge that meetings and discussions of the enclosed article be held in your district. It is a major statement bearing on our policy in reference to the unfolding Negro freedom struggle. Especially to be noted is the stress on cultivating the unity of the Negro movement and the unity and action of Negro and white for securing the rights of the Negro people; and our position in reference to the sharpening danger of the counter-revolutionary role being played by the Muslim organization.

"We suggest that you order a quantity of these reprints for mailing to influential figures in the Negro people's organizations and supporting organizations, such as the trade unions, churches, fraternal orders, etc."

(U)

NY 100-202
July 15, 1963

NY T-203
July 15, 1963

~~X~~

JAMES JACKSON, in his article in the July 7, 1963, issue of "The Worker", captioned "A Fighting People Forging New Unity", comments on the growing unity among the organizations taking part in the Negro freedom movement. He states that resistance from racist reactionaries becomes more violent as progress is made, but that the main danger to the movement is the alliance of racist Dixiecrats and ultra-right Northern Republicans. The monopolists in the country also fear Negro progress in integration because they realize victory in the struggle would create the base for unity of action of Negroes and whites in the struggle against them.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The ruling class can be expected to encourage and promote friction among the forces fighting for integration.

Leaders of the Negro movement should not be intimidated by anti-Communism. It has no place in the Negro movement and "can only foster divisionism in the ranks of the movement".

JACKSON also attacks the Muslim organization and MALCOLM X in particular as being disruptive to the movement, describing them as leeches on the Negro movement. He also attacks [redacted] as playing into the hands of segregationists.

b6
b7c

(U) The sources made available a letter dated July 25, 1963, addressed "To All Districts" and signed "Comradely Fours, Organization Dept". The letter states: ~~X~~

"In connection with the Negro people's movement, we recommend that you consider the following literature, especially considering the important events during the coming weeks. We are listing some important material valuable to our movement and some of it useful for wider circulation."

This letter lists the fact that "Freedomways" had published an excellent Summer issue dealing with Harlem, that a collection of articles by JAMES JACKSON, which had appeared in "The Worker", had been published under the title of "Three Brave Men" with a selling price of 15 cents, and that "a basic article" by BEN DAVIS would be published in the August, 1963, issue of "Political Affairs".

The letter urged that extensive circulation be given to "Freedomways" and the collection of articles by JACKSON and that the districts prepare for the circulation and discussion of DAVIS's article.

(U)

NY T-202
August 5, 1963
NY T-203
August 5, 1963

~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

- (U) Source advised that on September 16, 1963, a telegram to President JOHN F. KENNEDY, The White House, over the signature of GUS HALL, was dispatched by the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) ~~X~~

The text of this telegram is as follows:

- (U) "Brutal murder of 6 Negro children yesterday in Birmingham demands immediate action and Federal troops to protect lives of American citizens against lawless insurrection, terror, and calls for the arrest of Wallace and others responsible for murder and bombings. Federal authorities must take power of government away from such bloody hands. Failure to act vigorously in this crisis will not be tolerated by justice loving Americans. You can no longer ignore the growing popular demands for arrest of Wallace and those who incite racist violence and defiance of United States Constitution. Action must be taken to dissolve the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the American Nazi Party, the National States Rights Party, and all racist terrorists. We demand executive orders and a complete program of Federal action to smash the resistance of segregationists in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and elsewhere in the south, for the full establishment of constitutional liberties immediately to all Negro Americans and the establishment of new genuinely democratic government in these states in accord with the United States Constitution. Nothing short of these minimum measures will constitute adequate response by you to the challenge of the Birmingham bombing outrages. You, President Kennedy, are held personally responsible for the lives and property of American citizens against racists terror under your authority under the constitution. ~~X~~

Gus Hall"

- (U) NY T-48, September 16, 1963 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A meeting of leading ~~functionaries~~ of the CP, USA, was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on September 16, 1963. ~~X~~

(U) JAMES JACKSON reviewed the racial situation in Birmingham, Alabama, and announced that "The Worker" would carry a lead editorial on the first page demanding that Governor WALLACE of Alabama be brought to justice; demanding that the President establish federal occupational authority throughout Alabama; demanding a roundup of the membership of the American Nationalist Party, the White Citizens Councils, and the Ku Klux Klan; and demanding the immediate discharge of J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, and a complete reorganization of the FBI. ~~X~~

The Ku Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(U) WILLIAM PATTERSON said that, immediately after hearing of the bombing in Birmingham, he reached a number of people in the Harlem area of New York City, and raised the question of sending telegrams and holding some kind of demonstration. ~~X~~

(U) PATTERSON said that, while he thought JACKSON's statement concerning the FBI was correct, he would like to see a special article devoted to the FBI and "its complete failure over the years" in relation to racial matters in the United States. ~~X~~

(U) ROBERT THOMPSON stated the CPUSA should try to bring about effective, immediate action by the New York City Committee on Racial Equality. He said there should be some kind of major action in New York City, either in the nature of a mass meeting or a march and the Party should undertake a campaign in New York and nationally to influence public opinion in this situation. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) IRVING POTASH said it is not enough to throw responsibility on Governor WALLACE of Alabama, but it must be stated in clear terms that the Federal Government also has a certain responsibility for what is happening in Alabama. ~~X~~
- (U) POTASH noted that President KENNEDY is scheduled to appear before the United Nations and suggested it might be advisable to set up delegations to submit petitions and demands "even before he gets to the UN," thereby precipitating a possible demonstration at the UN. ~~X~~
- (U) POTASH also suggested the possibility of taking the proposed statement for "The Worker" and reading it publicly at some federal office, "possibly at Foley Square" in order "to dramatize our feelings in this matter." ~~X~~
- (U) BEN DAVIS commented, "I feel bitterly disappointed and bitterly dissatisfied with the response of our Party". He said the Negro movement has now reached the stage which requires a sharpening up of "our attack on the Kennedy administration." DAVIS urged greater activity on the part of the CPUSA stating, "I am of the opinion that unless our Party finds a way, symbolically or personally, or in some other way, to integrate itself in some public manner, if not in its own name, then through some organization in which the Party is known to have influence, we are just going to get a setback that will take us years and years to overcome." ~~X~~
- (U) [NY T-46, September 16, 1963] ~~X~~
- (U) During the period of October 1 - 6, 1963, a meeting of the NEC, CPUSA, and invited guests was held in New York City, the first two days of which were devoted to a report on the civil rights movement. The report on the civil rights movement was delivered by BENJAMIN DAVIS and the essence of this report is as follows: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) The report he delivered at the NEC meeting in June, 1963, must be used as the background for the report which is a collective report and not entirely his own. ~~✗~~
- (U) Following the killing of the Negro children in Birmingham, Alabama, the Negro movement entered its 4th stage. The first stage occurred when MARTIN LUTHER KING led the sit-downs in Birmingham. The second stage was reached at the August 28, 1963 March on Washington. It was a great stage in the Negro people's movement. As to whether "we" have a positive or negative attitude on the estimate of the March, even if "we" could find some negative things "our" general estimate has to be very positive. The 3rd stage was the killing of the children in Birmingham. The killing in Birmingham proved that the Government cannot protect its people or their property. The Negro people must demand that the President break the resistance of the Dixiecrats. ~~✗~~
- (U) The Negro leadership is in disarray and it requires that the leadership meet and work out a more consistent policy. ~~✗~~
- (U) This is a time for the sharpest demands. The more militant elements of the Negro movement are coming forward and are having an impact on the civil rights struggle. They are preparing a campaign of civil disobedience. However, these militant tactics do not break the unity between Negro and white. ~~✗~~
- (U) As regards the principal organizations in the civil rights movement, ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and WHITNEY YOUNG, Executive Director of the Urban League, represent the conservatives; MARTIN LUTHER KING, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and A. PHILIP RANDOLPH of the Negro ~~✗~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) American Labor Council (NALC) represent the center and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) represents the left. "We" Communists should fight for the most advanced proposals of all of these groups. There is no alternative for the CP but to support the demands and pressures from the left groups. However, "we" have to be careful not to create an image by which Communists cut themselves off from the Negro movement under the guise of "fighting dogmatism". The tasks of the left, right and the center in the Negro movement are "our" tasks but the Party has to carry on its own independent policy. ~~X~~
- (U) A group of Negroes are trying to organize a "Freedom Now Party", a party that is essentially leftist, isolationist and bears a trotskyite label but this does not mean that "we" can dismiss it. The Party position should be that if the Negro wants to use independent means, "we" will encourage them. ~~X~~
- (U) On the question of the Muslims, "we" should be for their defense as "we" are for all Negro rights. "We" will struggle along with the rank and file Muslims although opposing their separatism, their anti-Semitism and their idea of a Negro utopia. A distinction must be made between the Muslim leadership and their rank and file in order not to kill off militancy of the Negro people. "We" must urge them to fight with all who fight for the Negro people and must realize there are trends within the Muslim movement which has caused a split in that organization. ~~X~~
- (U) On the economic question, the fight for jobs is the heart and core of the Negro movement. The CP should strive to cement the economic struggle with the ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) fight for democracy, and awaken in the Negro a more conscious social perspective. "We" should give special consideration to economic demands such as preferential hiring and quotas and to the matter of how to unite the Negro and white workers. ~~X~~
- (U) As for the Party, it has a perspective of sharp struggle ahead in the Negro freedom movement. The Party should prepare itself to resolve the question of the growth of the Party and its press while keeping in mind the possibilities of extending its influence in the Negro movement. The image of the Party as a militant organization among the Negro people has been dimmed. ~~X~~
- (U) The Party has credits in the Negro struggle including its participation in numbers in the March on Washington but "we" have not brought the Party forward up to now and have failed to solve the problem of how to indicate to the Negro the line of march. "We" have shown some responsibility in relation to the Negro freedom movement but still do not have a clear line on the role Communists have to play. ~~X~~
- (U) "We" must show dedication to the fight against white chauvinism, nationalism and racism as preached by the Chinese CP. ~~X~~
- (U) "We" must pay special attention to the NALC and emphasize its class position but do it in such a way as not to divide the workers from the middle and upper class Negro. ~~X~~
- (U) The Party in the South must find a center around which to rally the progressive forces there. "We" must get into the struggle in the South now and ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) help solve some of the problems, even though there are several obstacles in "our" way, because otherwise the Party will be set back for years. ~~X~~

(U) The Party has not played the role in the Negro movement it is capable of playing. What is needed is some kind of left center that would unite the Negro people and "we" can provide the personnel for this. The Party must do at least as much as SNCC, The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) or the Negro writers because it has the ideological means. "We" must try to get into all of these organizations. ~~X~~

(U) Following a discussion of his report, DAVIS gave a summary during which he said that the question is how to begin a chain of events and actions which can put the Party in a position to speak to and lead this mass movement. He added that, instead of talking in generalities about the left, they should help them do things differently. He stated that the Negro movement will help them establish the Party as a Party of the left and that the Party has to find ways and means for beginning in the South. He said they have to solve the problem of how to grasp the opportunities now before them. ~~X~~

(U) At the third session of the meeting, held on October 3, 1963, GUS HALL gave the principal report on the subject of building the Party. During his report he commented on the Negro upsurge in the United States and he made the following observations: ~~X~~

(U) This struggle is taking place on many levels and it is the task of the Party to show that there is no need for rivalry with this movement. There has been no red-baiting; where there is a meaningful struggle it tends to ignore red-baiting. There also is a reflection of the leadership of the movement that sees "our role" not in a negative way. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The question is how to involve the population in this movement. Workers can be involved. Youth are deeply involved and churches are also involved but mainly for moral and ethical reasons. This moral factor should not be underestimated because it is now important in all movements including movements for socialism. However, "we" cannot win the workers on moral and ethical reasons alone. White Americans must be shown it is in their own self-interest related to economy to participate. ✕

(U) The American working class cannot be united unless there is Negro-white unity. This class unity must be achieved; the people must unite and the class questions will fall into place. Labor is not sufficiently involved and it must begin to act. ✕

(U) The Party must concentrate on three mass currents, the struggle of the Negro people for equality, the economic struggle and the crises of automation and unemployment, and the peace movements and the regrouping of the peace forces after the test ban. These three mass currents are the makings of a people's democratic alliance against monopoly. ✕

(U) The general line of BEN DAVIS' report was approved and the report of GUS HALL was also approved. ✕

(U) [NY T-19
October 9, 1963] ✕

(U) At the October 3, 1963, session of the NEC meeting, GUS HALL, in his report on the general state of affairs of the CP, USA, pointed out that there are many opportunities for the Party on the political scene, in trade unions and in the Negro movement, but that the CP, USA, is not in a position to take advantage of these opportunities. ✕

(U) [NY T-59
October 3, 1963] ✕

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The annual dinner of "The Worker" was held on October 6, 1963, at the Palm Garden, New York City, at which BEN DAVIS was one of the two guests of honor. Speaking at this dinner, DAVIS stated that the President should immediately send Federal troops to Alabama and other southern states and should remove officials in those states who have failed to uphold the oath they took to uphold the Constitution and to prosecute those responsible for the "reign of terror" in the southern states. He stated that it is very possible that their children will live under a socialist system in the United States. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-16
October 9, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CP, USA, held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on October 16, 1963, BENJAMIN DAVIS took up the subject of civil rights. DAVIS criticized the Attorney General for his action on the Civil Rights Bill, stating that the Attorney General was trying to "water down" this bill. He said that the CP, USA should call for no "watering down" and no compromise but should fight for the original bill. He said that the CP, USA should call on people to write, telegraph, hold meetings and denounce the efforts of the Attorney General to hold down the Civil Rights Bill. ~~X~~

(U) At this same meeting, PHIL BART discussed a memorandum pertaining to a "Plan of Work" of the CP, USA, which had been prepared by the Party's Organizational Bureau. This memorandum notes the need for concentration among Negroes and youth. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
October 16, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) The source made available a news release of the CP, USA, dated October 14, 1963, which was a statement of GUS HALL. In this statement, he comments that "Civil rights legislation as proposed by the House Judiciary Subcommittee which strengthened President KENNEDY's proposals is a minimum must for this session of Congress". He calls for every American to take some action such as correspondence, visits or telephone calls to their Congressmen and Senators demanding action. He also states that every mass organization including labor unions have a duty to act and white Americans have a special responsibility. He adds that Congress and the Administration must break the segregationist stranglehold on civil rights and pass the civil rights bill. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-233
October 21, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) At the regular biweekly conference of CP editors and others in the news media field, held at CP Headquarters on October 25, 1963, JACK STACHEL commented on the Civil Rights Bill then before Congress. He accused the President of retreating from a strong stand on civil rights and added that the Attorney General is willing to accept a weaker bill. He said that this, plus other factors, indicated that the Administration was giving in to the ultra-rightists and the Dixiecrats and that the CP must develop a line of propaganda to stop this weakening. X
- (U) [NY T-59
October 25, 1963] X
- (U) The source made available a document entitled "Draft Resolution-Break the Resistance of the Dixiecrats and Establish Constitutional Government in the South", which was prepared by BENJAMIN DAVIS and is based on the report he gave to the meeting of the NEC, CP, USA on October 1, 1963. This document contains in part the following: X
- (U) "The increasingly savage resistance of the Dixiecrats and racist reactionaries to the peaceful civil rights revolution for human dignity and equal rights waged by the Negro people and their white supporters presents our nation with an acute crisis which will determine the fate of American democracy now, and for years to come". X
- (U) It continues that the struggle applies to both the South and the North and involves the fight not only for equality of Negroes as citizens, but also the fight against discrimination in jobs, housing, schools and includes oppressed whites, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans. It enumerates X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) various acts of terrorism against the Negro in the South and puts the blame for these acts on the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council and Governor WALLACE of Alabama and Governor BARNETT of Mississippi who have rebelled against the Bill of Rights and have defied the federal courts. In the document it states that Negroes have every right to defend themselves with arms against the assault from illegal mobs. ~~X~~
- (U) The document then states, "In the midst of the seething Negro liberation movement, the question is asked: Where is the party of the Negro people, of the Negro youth and workers? We submit modestly, yet truthfully, that that party is the Communist Party of the United States. Because it is the party of the Negro Freedom Now Movement it is also the party of the white workers; because it is the party of the struggle for equality, human dignity and racial progress now, it is the party of socialism, when exploitation and national oppression will be no more in our country". ~~X~~
- (U) The CP feels that the Negro liberation movement should extend beyond the Party's own ranks and unite many organizations even those whose leaders disagree with the CP. The CP has its own contribution to make, however, and it combines "the struggle for reforms with the struggle for socialism, and it pursues a scientific class approach to the problems confronting the American people while recognizing that only the broadest mobilization of labor and the people on a non-partisan basis can secure the democratic resolution of these problems." ~~X~~
- (U) The document continues, "The repeated negative experiences of the Negro people and of the working class in seeking full freedom and to improve their lot in ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) our country during war or extreme international tension are among the principal reasons why the United States Communist Party rejects the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party and shares the peaceful coexistence policies of the overwhelming majority of the world Marxist parties, brilliantly demonstrated in the role of the Soviet Union." ~~X~~

(U) The document pointed out the pitfalls of the Negro movement noting that it is made up of many diverse groups all believing in different approaches. This could lead to loss of initiative and the discontinuance of the offensive against the "Jim Crow System". ~~X~~

(U) According to the document, Communists have made indispensable contributions to the present Negro uprising. "Thousands were in the ranks of repeated marches to Washington including August 28 --- and assisted in mobilizing their fellow shop workers, trade unionists and neighbors for the success of these demonstrations." Communists are among the fighters for "Freedom Now." In the civil rights movement, Communists have been loyal to the unity of Negro people and have rejected recklessness. "They have been motivated by one aim --- immediate and total victory". ~~X~~

(U) According to the document, this action is not enough but it is also necessary that the CP, as a united independent political party, raise the level of its work for the entire freedom movement "with full realization that victory in this movement will, in the words of GUS HALL, cleanse our nation." The document then deals with the contributions the CP can make to the Negro movement and states "where the going is roughest that is, in the deep South, that's where a functioning Communist Party organization belongs - not as a self-serving gesture, but to loyally contribute to the ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) unity, effectiveness and perspective of the movement, to help draw into it ever larger sections of the most exploited and oppressed masses." ~~X~~
- (U) According to the document, the CP is the only Party in the United States fighting for the rights of Negro people. Yet the cry of anti-Communist is used to subvert the civil rights movement. The CP "demands of the KENNEDY administration a new 20th Century Emancipation Proclamation". ~~X~~
- (U) The CP has the responsibility of a greater mobilization of labor and white forces to the realization of their stake in the civil rights movement. The CP will join with the majority of Negro people and fight for "more militant, united and disciplined action." ~~X~~

The document concludes, "the Party's ability to contribute to the solution of the urgent problems confronting the nation today - in the first place, the civil rights crisis - will determine its role in the struggle for socialism."

(U) [NY T-1
October 29, 1963] ~~X~~

- (U) A meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CP, USA was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on November 1, 1963. At this meeting, BEN DAVIS reported on civil rights and outlined various provisions of the Civil Rights Bill noting it had been "watered down" by the Administration. He said they should raise the question of strengthening this ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) bill which now represents a return to "tokenism".

(U) He added that his position is that, while they are for peaceful, non-violent action in the Negro movement, it is correct for the Negro people to have defense committees in the South. He said these committees should be armed and have the right to use arms "where their lives, their communities and their churches are threatened". He stated that it is correct for the Negroes to consider more militant forms of non-violence, including civil disobedience.

(U) DAVIS' report was accepted.

(U) [NY T-46
November 1, 1963]

(U) On November 6, 1963, a meeting of leading CP functionaries was held at CP Headquarters, New York City.

(U) IRVING POTASH reported on the needs of the Negro people regarding better schools, jobs, medical care and food. He said "we" need an immediate program of action and "we should as Communists become part of the Negro movement and arouse the Communists of the country." He felt that someone from "The Worker" should go down south and discover first hand what is going on and tell the story to the people. He said that history shows that when the Party raises the problems among the people the government will begin to respond and "we" will get action. He said that efforts should be made to get the trade unions to send down observers.

(U) BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. said that "we" should pose the Negro question "on the poverty and underprivileged theme." "We" must see that the civil rights crisis is the Negro struggle for democracy and truth.

(U) [NY T-2, November 6, 1963]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A meeting of the National Board, CP, USA and invited guests was held at CP Headquarters, New York City on November 13, 1963, at which, BENJAMIN DAVIS reported on a recent trip to Detroit, Michigan. DAVIS stated that at a series of meetings in Detroit, there was proposed the launching of a Northern Christian Leadership Conference (NCLC). ~~X~~

It is noted that "The Worker" in its issue of November 10, 1963, contained an article datelined at Detroit, which stated that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., Head of the SCLC, had endorsed a meeting scheduled for November 8-10, 1963, where Negro leaders from fifteen Northern cities were to establish a NCLC.

(U) DAVIS reported that a new important organization was formed composed of Negro preachers from Detroit and vicinity which group has announced a job getting campaign in Detroit. He further stated that the organization is aiming for a National Conference of Negro Preachers to be held on January 15, 1964, on the question of employment. DAVIS went on to describe the various conferences which were held and then said that he believed it is still possible to affect MARTIN LUTHER KING, as well as some of the young people. DAVIS also mentioned that while attending the meetings in Detroit that [redacted] had remarked that he had great respect for DAVIS and that when he met [redacted] threw his arms around him and said that MARTIN LUTHER KING often mentioned DAVIS. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

It should be noted that [redacted] is an assistant to MARTIN LUTHER KING in the leadership of the SCLC.

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At this same meeting, IRVING POTASH stated that the important thing is that there is nothing on the scene at this time of a concentrated effort by the Negro leadership to bring about maximum unity. He said that there is at the present time a disarray of Negro leadership and less unity today, as well as the absence of a united program for a new offensive. He expressed his opinion that they are not without forces that could influence a reaction among the Negro organizations and Negro leaders. He said that they need to arrange "our own forces" so that a unified approach can be made to this question and so that they can determine what kind of influence they can exert in the Negro organizations. X

(U) JOSEPH BRANDT also spoke stating that there has been much action in forming ideas, programs and plans by various groups engaged in the struggle, whereas "we", outside of a few articles, have not advanced or formulated ideas for coordination. He suggested that there be a national conference of one or two days devoted to the question of the struggle of the Negro people. He said that this conference should be national in character. X

(U) [NY T-2
November 13, 1963] X

(U) At a CP meeting at CP Headquarters, New York City on November 22, 1963, JACK STACHEL reported that BEN DAVIS had gone to Detroit for several days originally for a conference to organize a Negro leadership conference. He said that because "we" knew that a [redacted] was being influenced by the Freedom Now Party, DAVIS hoped to influence him. He said that DAVIS was very well received at a meeting of the Trade Union Leadership Council, which he described as an influential organization of Negro trade union leaders in Detroit. X

b6
b7C

(U) He said that there also was held a session X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) of the NAAC presided over by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. In addition, there were three conferences, one of which was a ministers conference of 100 Negro ministers who took up the question of the struggle against job discrimination, and one of the northern Negro leadership which was poorly attended. This probably was because the ministers held their own conference and because of the [] faction. He added that DAVIS attended everything except the NAAC meeting. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) STACHEL stated that DAVIS noted that Detroit has become the main center in the North of the Negro struggle and leadership. ~~X~~

(U) STACHEL further stated that there was a split in the three groupings at Detroit and that an explanation of the failure of the conference could not be understood without taking into account the Minister's Conference, which was held at Detroit, and the fact that the NAACP was part of that. He added that there are some unsolved problems between the NAACP and MARTIN LUTHER KING's organization. He said the fear is that they will replace the old organizations in the North and the problem is how to create unity among these groups. ~~X~~

NY T-1
November 26, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) JAMES JACKSON conducted a class, "The Road to Negro Freedom" at the New York School for Marxist Studies on November 15, 1963. Toward the end of his discourse on Negro problems, JACKSON said that the time is ripe for the Negro labor force to have a general strike and for white sympathizers to go along with this strike.

(U) NY T-234
December 2, 1963 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) On December 4, 1963, a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, and invited guests was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, at which BEN DAVIS spoke on the civil rights struggle. His comments included the following: ~~X~~

(U) The ultra-right should be blamed for the violence and lawlessness which was responsible for the assassination of the President. The reaction to this crime has brought forward the best instincts of the American people and among the Negro people it has created a tremendous surge forward in the struggle for Negro rights. President JOHNSON's speech, before Congress, on civil rights was outstanding. His role has been more progressive than President KENNEDY. The attitude of the Party toward President JOHNSON and his Administration should be a positive one. ~~X~~

(U) The labor movement now is taking a new position toward the Negro movement which will put the movement on a higher level than ever before. Politically, they should not accept the rejection of preferential treatment of hiring Negroes as held by some Negro leaders and on the question of seniority rights, the Party should be in favor of it but with some modification such as where locals maintain seniority lists for whites and Negroes. ~~X~~

(U) A "functioning apparatus" is needed in the South. The work of individual comrades has been heroic and self-sacrificing but it has reached a point where a "functioning apparatus" is needed. "Our role" in the North is to capture the support of the Negro people and this should be worked out in great detail. The job facing the Party is how it can play a role of organizing a movement of a personal character that will rally and unify forces. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
December 4, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) During the period of December 19-22, 1963, an enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA was held in New York City. At the session of December 19, 1963, GUS HALL gave the main report. During his report he mentioned civil rights as one of the three principal areas where there should be activity at the present time. His remarks, in essence, included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) Now, the civil rights revolution is the center of the struggle for democracy. However, this civil rights struggle will not keep on renewing itself unless millions of people are reached. This is a challenge which "we" can help resolve on a city and local basis. "We" must also continue the campaign to expose racism. It will take the maximum effort by maximum numbers in order to pass civil rights legislation, to continue the drive for school integration, and continue the struggle in the South. There is a need for a national and international campaign to expose the terror in the South. ~~X~~
- (U) At the session of December 21, 1963, BEN DAVIS presented a report on civil rights. His report included, in essence, the following observations: ~~X~~
- (U) The Resident Board hopes to re-establish the National Negro Commission and that it will be made a functioning committee. At the last NEC meeting, two weaknesses were noted in the civil rights struggle, namely, insufficient participation by "our" white allies, and disarray in the national leadership of the Negro movement. The lack of participation by white allies still is the biggest weakness. The problem now is how to guarantee concrete steps for civil rights. With regard to white allies, the recent ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) Convention gave certain handles to fight against discrimination and for civil rights; it outlined the role of organized labor in the civil rights field. Despite the negative things connected with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, "we" would be wrong not to acknowledge their pledges. "We" have to take advantage of the positive matters arising from the convention and develop them further. ~~X~~

(U)

The Negro leadership is no longer in disarray but are united and working for the passage of the civil rights bill. As to this bill, even though it is weaker than the original, "we" are going to fight for it and will fight to strengthen it. "We" want it passed and to kill off any filibuster. "We" must mobilize support for the bill and the Party should send a spokesman to the public hearings in January, 1964. ~~X~~

(U)

"We" should support the peaceful, Constitutional path and must also keep in touch with the forces that use extra parliamentary methods such as demonstrations on the streets and unite this wing with those who depend upon legislation. ~~X~~

(U)

"We" must also organize to fight the terror in the South and will need to demand Federal intervention. "We" must help raise the question to make it possible for every voter in the South to vote. "Our" slogan is how to bring the Negro freedom movement into the elections in the South and show that this is in the interest of all southerners. The right to vote is "our" main task. "We" should push the use of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution to reduce Southern representation in Congress on the basis of a lack of qualified voters. In addition, Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution is of importance for breaking through states' rights. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) "We" must find a way to link the struggle for democracy in the South with the economic demands of the North. The Negro people's movement is taking its sharpest form of struggle in three areas, Washington, the South, and in the North where economic questions are first in importance. "We" must have a positive attitude on preferential hiring, hiring quotas, and on seniority. ✕
- (U) There is a need for a registration campaign throughout the country to enroll Negroes to vote. This must be done so they can use their full power. It gives "us" one way in which to associate "ourselves" with the Negro people. ✕
- (U) Some steps have been taken in the South by the Party and "we" are looking forward to the day when "we" will have a functioning apparatus there. ✕
- (U) [NY T-19
December 23, 1963] ✕
- (U) A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held on January 6, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City. ✕
- (U) BILL ALBERTSON reviewed the status of New York City school integration and cited efforts of the Mayor and the Board of Education in this regard. ✕
- (U) ALBERTSON stated the open enrollment and free transfer plans place the burden of integration on the Negro and Puerto Rican children and establish no responsibility in the white community to carry through integration. According to ALBERTSON, these plans maintain the segregated school as a system of education. ✕

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) ALBERTSON asserted the New York City Board of Education was not living up to its agreements and has taken the position it cannot move to integrate a particular community until the community agrees to be integrated. ~~X~~
- (U) ALBERTSON noted the existence of various organizations involved in efforts to promote integration and commented "We" are distributing 26,000 copies of our own plan. He described this plan as "a fighting plan for integration in the New York City public school system...a plan which is feasible, practical and which will show the way to carry out the integration program". ~~X~~
- (U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated, with regard to the (school) boycott, the responsibility of the Party's forces must be to strengthen their influence in the American Jewish Congress which has been taking a splendid position. ~~X~~
- (U) ALBERTSON remarked the Party must push for a crash program for rehabilitation of public schools to go hand in hand with integration. ~~X~~
- (U) BEN DAVIS remarked "Freedom Now" means setting up a time table to achieve integration and means giving Negroes the best teachers and best schools "because we must make up for the 300 years that they have had to suffer" ~~X~~

(U) [New York T-2
January 6, 1964] ~~X~~

- (U) At a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, and invited guests held February 5, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City, ROBERT THOMPSON reported on the February 3, 1964, boycott of New York City schools. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) THOMPSON claimed the boycott generally had wide labor support but the Party was not able to get a general approach on the part of its trade union forces that would have opened the door to a fuller understanding. He said the boycott was too largely looked at as an action narrow in scope and was not seen as an issue that fundamentally involved the future of the whole approach to public education in the city. ~~X~~
- (U) THOMPSON declared the boycott a success largely because civil rights groups were able to overcome a number of disagreements and achieve solid coordination. He attributed this to the fact that it was the feeling of not only the Party but of all civil rights groups that the boycott had to be made a success; that if it failed here, then it would be a setback to the integration movement nationally and especially in the North. ~~X~~
- (U) Without citing any specific activity of the Party in connection with the boycott, THOMPSON claimed that in this boycott action there was a Party involvement not seen in recent struggles in New York and that both quantitatively and qualitatively the Party was in the picture. It had a definite program; it had an adequate, practical, united front approach and, it was able to be a material factor. THOMPSON said he thought the CP would have some very substantial benefits from this as the base was laid for a betterment of the Party's relationship to a number of organizations. ~~X~~
- (U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON noted the unity of Negro and white in connection with the boycott and stated the Party should emphasize this unity, make it the backbone for future development and give it positive direction. ~~X~~

(U) [New York T-2
February 5, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A meeting of the NNC, CP, USA, which included members of the Communist Party's Trade Union Commission and invited guests, was held in Chicago, Illinois during the period February 22-23, 1964. BENJAMIN DAVIS opened the meeting on February 22, 1964, and praised the line that had been set forth under the leadership of CLAUDE LIGHT-FOOT. DAVIS presented the following agenda for the meeting: ~~X~~

(U) 1. A main report by himself dealing with the 1964 elections and an estimate of the current struggles of the Negro people.

2. Area reports from those areas, one from New York on the rent strikes and school boycotts, one from the West Coast on jobs and Negro youth, and one from Chicago on jobs and relief struggles. ~~X~~

3. Sub-reports by GEORGE MEYERS on his trip to the South and another by WILLIAM PATTERSON who had been attending the trial of in North Carolina.

b6
b7c

4. A discussion of the work of the Negro Commission.

(U) The first part of DAVIS' report dealt with the current stage of the Negro people's movement and emphasized that the movement is being felt in the North where three issues have emerged, jobs, schools and housing. Out of this stage, DAVIS said, have developed new elements, school boycotts, a move for national coordination on schools, unity of the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the New York school boycott, and the fact that white liberals and the trade union movement are beginning to support the movement. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

(U)

DAVIS also dealt with the question of whether or not the Negro people's movement is revolutionary in character. He concluded that it has a revolutionary character but there is not a revolutionary crisis in the United States. He indicated that it is a part of the general social economic revolution. He said that how well it will succeed depends to a great extent on the role of the Communist Party.

~~SECRET~~

DAVIS, in his report, also made the following observations:

There must be militant action to stop the filibuster of the Civil Rights Bill. The Communist Party's role is to cement Negro - White unity in this fight and the Party must wage an all - out fight for the bill both through pressure on Congress and, if necessary, by actions such as demonstrations and marches.

The Party's electoral program has three objectives and the main blow should be against the ultra-right. The Negro people are an essential part of JOHNSON camps but it is necessary to develop independent activities to pressure President JOHNSON into breaking completely with the Dixiecrats. In addition, the Communist Party must concern itself with how it can help change the composition of Congress and must bring in more trade union, Negro and Puerto Rican representatives.

One of the major tasks the Communist Party must assist in is the registration campaign. The other is to try and develop independent political action committees in the Negro community to improve the quality and quantity of Negro representation. This can be done by independent activities and by trying to influence both major parties to slate Negro candidates. The Communist Party, wherever possible, should seek to build Negro-labor committees.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

- (U) They must also attempt to build the unity of the left during these elections and, where possible, to run Communist Party candidates. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) In the South, they must demand that every qualified voter be given the protection of the government to exercise his right to vote. The South is basic to the political struggle in this country and progressives must realize that a change in the political alignment in the South is essential to progress in the country. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 to desegregate schools opened the door to all desegregation in the South and the decision to redistrict the Congressional Districts makes it possible to break the role of the minority in the South. The Communist Party must develop independent movements in support of these decisions and guarantee that the re-districting takes place. ~~X~~

- (U) The Communist Party is not in a position to solve the many organizational questions facing the Negro movement. The Communist Party can establish a secure base in this movement if it develops and demonstrates a sound line and policy. The Communist Party should not always be discussing how to associate with existing movements, it must take more initiative and organize independent movements around the people's needs. The Communist Party must re-establish its revolutionary traditions among the Negro people. They must develop a sound program for the poor farmers in the South and develop the ideological position of taking the profit out of the Jim Crow system. ~~X~~

- (U) The Communist Party must act boldly in the people's movement; the entire Communist Party must be involved in the struggle and they must win the working ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) class to the Negro people's struggle. They must concentrate on a cadre training program. They must build the Communist Party by expanding their clubs and activities in the Negro community and establishing groupings of Communist Party and non-Communist Party forces to discuss action in the Civil Rights movement. The Communist Party must become a factor and can become such a factor in the Negro people's movement. ✕

~~SECRET~~

(U) GEORGE MEYERS presented a report on a trip he made to the South. He said he talked with students on the campus of North Carolina A & T College and visited Atlanta where he talked with some Negro leaders. He said his general conclusion was that the question of the right to vote and of jobs are the main issues in the South. He commented on the great impact the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is having on the community in the South and said the Communist Party must find ways to rebuild the Communist Party in the South even if it means sending people to the South. ✕

(U) CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT in his comments stated that he felt that although there are tremendous movements going on the Communist Party, in the main, is not in a position of directing and influencing too well. ✕

(U) JAMES JACKSON stated that the Communist Party has not recruited from the cream of the crop of the Negro people's movement and that the leaders of this movement are not associating themselves with the Communist Party. He said this has to be a direction of the Communist Party's work. ✕

(U) WILLIAM PATTERSON told of how he had attended the opening of the trial of [redacted] in Monroe, North Carolina, where the basic issue on trial is the right to

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) defend your life. He felt the Communist Party must give its full support to this trial and the freedom of this victim. ~~✕~~

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

(U) called for the Communist Party to be more self - critical. He said that many of the proposals made at the last national meeting on the Negro question have not been carried out. He said they must decide who will be the Communist Party's spokesman, that there are only a very few individuals in the Communist Party who are willing to speak in the name of the Communist Party. He asked how they could present any program when no one knows the Communist Party exists. ~~✕~~

(U) At the session of February 23, 1964, gave a report on the rent strikes in the Harlem area. He said that the Communist Party, at present, is not really in this struggle but that comrades were trying. He said there is no coordinated movement, although "The Worker" played a good role, nor is the Communist Party playing a leading role. ~~✕~~

b6
b7C

(U) At this session, WILLIAM PATTERSON said that both the rent strikes and the school boycotts raise the question of human rights versus property rights, which is an issue being debated in the national Civil Rights Bill. The school boycott movement only recently developed into a mass movement and the struggle for unity of the movement is still a major question and should receive the attention of the Communist Party. ~~✕~~

(U) BEN DAVIS commented that the National Board of the Communist Party had agreed that a Steering Committee should be established for the NNC which should be made up of people in or around New York so ~~✕~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) they could meet regularly and coordinate the work of the overall Negro Commission. He said it has been proposed that he, DAVIS, be chairman of this committee and that the Board suggested that along with himself, WILLIAM PATTERSON, IRVING POTASH, [REDACTED] GEORGE MEYERS and JAMES JACKSON be members of the Steering Committee. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) DAVIS indicated that regional commissions would be established, one in the far West which would include California, Washington and other areas, one in the Midwest to include Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Missouri and one in the East. He said the fields of work for these committees should include the mass organizations, the trade union movement and the South. He said GEORGE MEYERS would be responsible for the South. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIS in summarizing the two day meeting proposed that the Commission approve the general line of the main report and the subreports given at the meeting. He said that JAMES JACKSON had proposed, in a discussion with him, that the Party consider trying to stimulate a work stoppage if there is a filibuster in the Senate on the Civil Rights Bill. He added that the National Board of the Communist Party took the position that they must defend [REDACTED] and the defendants at all costs in spite of the fact that there are fundamental differences between [REDACTED] and the Communist Party. He said the Communist Party must develop more initiative in struggles by beginning with the people's needs and developing the struggle accordingly. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) NY T-20
February 24, 1964 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

- (U) The source furnished substantially the same information as did NY T-20 concerning the above meeting of the NNC in Chicago, Illinois. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) [NY T-98
February 24, 1964] ~~X~~

- (U) At the second day's session of the NNC meeting, February 23, 1964, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT acted as chairman and, in his speech, said the work of the Commission will be broadened so that it can deal with problems faced by people in every state in the country. He called for the Communist Party in Illinois to strengthen the youth group and to attempt to establish a Party youth group in civil rights groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), NALC, SNCC, CORE and other organizations. ~~X~~

- (U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON also spoke and his comments included the following: ~~X~~

- (U) The Party must move its members to take a leadership position in civil rights organizations. ~~X~~

- (U) Concerning the NALC, the chapter in New York is stalemated. This chapter, however, will have the largest number of delegates at the coming NALC convention and, therefore, will control the convention. The Party forces in the NALC should attempt to get legitimate delegates, who have been active throughout the year, elected as delegates to the convention. The New York chapter has participated in the school boycott there but has been ineffective in the industrial field where they should be most effective. ~~X~~

- (U) The Party press should be built by increasing the circulation of "The Worker". "The Worker" is the official Party publication and the only means of getting word to the masses especially the Negro people.

(U) [NY T-180
February 27, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The "Chicago Tribune" issue of February 29, 1964, page eight, column three, carried an article entitled "Red Leader Urges Civil Rights Strike." This article revealed that JAMES E. JACKSON of New York, the editor of "The Worker", the Communist Party newspaper, held a press conference on February 26, 1964, at the Hamilton Hotel, 20 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois. The article stated that JACKSON, a Communist Party spokesman, urged civil rights groups to stage a nation-wide work stoppage in key industries, should a Senate filibuster break out on the proposed Civil Rights Act. According to the article, JACKSON asserted that the idea for the stoppage already was under discussion by civil rights groups and he stated the Communists merely would assist the strike if it is called.

MARTY O'CONNOR, Reporter for the "Chicago American" newspaper, 445 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, on February 27, 1964, furnished a press release issued by JAMES JACKSON at a press conference held on February 27, 1964, at the Hamilton Hotel, 20 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

This release stated that last week there was a consultation among a number of leading Marxists on problems besetting the movement to secure "freedom now" to the Negro citizens of our country, both north and south of the Mason - Dixon Line. This meeting, which took place in Chicago with CLAUDE M. LIGHTFOOT, leading Illinois Communist in the chair, discussed a report by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, the former member of the Council of the City of New York and a leading spokesman of the Communist Party, United States of America. The release continued that DAVIS analyzed the new developments in connection with the further unfolding in the struggle to secure the full equality of the rights of the Negro people. As a conclusion to the consultation, those present foresaw the extension of the tactics of direct mass action in the war against discrimination from withholding their children from schools, from withholding their consumer dollars from merchants and landlords to withholding their labor power from the factories. Specifically, those present from several parts of the country reported that the mood

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

of the Negro workers in key industries is to participate in work stoppages, should the Dixiecrats carry out their plans to filibuster the Civil Rights Act pending before the Senate.

The release continued that should the southern Senators act to filibuster the Civil Rights Act to death, a national work stoppage by the Negro workers would open a new and decisive front of struggle against the segregation system, it would be a confrontation at the production level with the power structure itself.

The CP, USA, was in full support of the February 3, 1964 school boycott of New York City public schools. At group meetings of the Communist Party in the Harlem area of New York City, Communist Party members were urged to keep their children home on the day of the school boycott and Communist Party members were urged to participate in the boycott demonstration whether or not they had children attending school.

(U) [NY T-10
February 25, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On March 18, 1964, a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CP, USA was held at Communist Party Headquarters, New York City. At this meeting, ROBERT THOMPSON reported on the second school boycott of the New York City public schools on March 16, 1964. His remarks included the following: ~~X~~

(U) There was a reduction in the number of Negro children participating in the second boycott as compared with the first but the sharpest fall off was among the whites and the Puerto Ricans. In both boycotts there ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) was a "rising tide" in the civil rights struggle but there also was a "rigid crystallization" of the anti-civil rights forces. They should consider what is happening in this area. Specifically, the parents and taxpayers groups mobilized and waged a campaign of discrimination and intimidation. There is a movement of leadership and program of developing against integration and it goes far beyond that. ~~SECRET~~

(U) There is a split in Negro forces in the boycott movement the most significant being the split between the Negro and Puerto Rican forces.

(U) The participation by ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in the second boycott was helpful and important.

(U) The Party must fight for unification of the civil rights movement on a new basis with room for new leaders. A point has been reached where the Party must form a line that is firm, sharp and understandable. It must be in the direction of unity within this movement and the fight for Negro - White unity.

(U) JAMES JACKSON also spoke and stated he was in substantial agreement with THOMPSON. He felt that any slogans put forth by the Party should be distinct and different from slogans put forth by the movement. He said these slogans should be supplementary and complementary to those put up by the Negro movement and should not supersede or compete with them.

(U) BENJAMIN DAVIS, in his remarks, called for the leaders of the Parents and Taxpayers Association to be denounced. He described these leaders as fascists and said they must find a way for their white comrades to be instructed politically and ideologically to attack them.

(U) NY T-2
March 18, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U)

The source made available a news release of the CP, USA, dated February 3, 1964, which is captioned "Communist Leaders Call For Support to MAE MALLORY". This release concerns a statement issued by GUS HALL and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS calling for demands to be made for the immediate release of MAE MALLORY by telegrams to the Governor of North Carolina and protests to the Attorney General. It states that: X

"Branding the scheduled trial of Mrs. MAE MALLORY on February 17 in Monroe, North Carolina as a 'dastardly racial frame .. up' and 'an attempted legal lynching aimed at intimidating and suppressing the militant Negro people's movement in the deep South', GUS HALL and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS today called for all - out support to Mrs. MALLORY's struggle for freedom."

This news release, continuing the statement of HALL and DAVIS also states:

" 'Whatever differences exist with Mrs. MALLORY's political philosophy they take second place to the necessity of the unity of all civil rights fighters to put an end to the vicious Jim Crow system, and to smash this dastardly racist frame - up, against her and her co-defendants'".

(U)

NY T-233
March 2, 1964 X

"The New York Times", February 29, 1964, page twenty-four contains an article datelined February 28, 1964 at Monroe, North Carolina, which states that three Negroes and a white man were convicted that day of kidnapping a white couple after racial disturbance in 1961.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

It continues that Mrs. WILLIE MAE MALLORY was sentenced to 16 to 20 years in women's prison and that state's evidence indicated that she led the incident that took place in the Negro section of Monroe. It adds that attorneys for the four have filed a notice of appeal.

HYMAN LUMER was the instructor at the Marxist school held in Chelsea, Massachusetts on February 9, 1964. During the afternoon session of this school, LUMER took up the Negro question and began this talk with a history of the Negro in the United States. His additional comments included the following: ~~*~~

The oppression of the Negro resulted in the oppression of the working class in the South and discrimination against Negroes became the basis for lower wages for everyone throughout the country. This oppression of the Negro is a central question for the Party and the source of this oppression is the United States and monopoly capital. "Our" fight for equality is a fight against monopoly capital and the fight for rights for Negroes is a part of the whole anti - monopoly struggle in the United States. It also is a part of the peace movement and a struggle within the labor movement. This tends to merge all these struggles together in a movement to establish an anti - monopoly government within the United States.

It is important to see the relationship of this to the class struggle. The success of the Negro struggle depends on unifying it with the class struggle. The Negro struggle and peace struggle is a class struggle and for Marxists the class struggle is the basic question with full equality and democracy the goals.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

As Communists they should mobilize white people to help in the Negro movement. The Party's position is that they must work for Negro-white unity and against the separatism and poverty being experienced by Negroes. This struggle against poverty must be concentrated among the Negro people. The struggle for civil rights is directly related to the fight against unemployment and the labor movement is at the crossroads of this movement.

(U) [NY T-235
February 14, 1964] X

At a Communist Party meeting in Chicago, Illinois, held on January 29, 1964, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that the Negro freedom fight must be tied in with white labor because they are ready to move on the issue of the fight on poverty, the loss of jobs to automation and civil liberties. He also said they would have to find ways of creating a united front. X

(U) [NY T-173
January 30, 1964] X

(U) On April 10, 1964, a meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA, met at CP Headquarters. At this meeting GUS HALL stated the CP can maintain its vanguard leadership role even though supporting rather than leading mass organizations which are engaged in fighting for the same things desired by the Party. As an example he noted that unemployment among Negroes and youth is high and the Party should support any organization agitating to correct the situation. WILLIAM PATTERSON noted the need for militancy in support of the Negro people but indicated success would not be possible "without taking into consideration alliances with other forces." X

(U) [NY T-2
April 10, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The sources made available a mimeographed letter dated April 29, 1964, addressed "To All Districts from the Organization Department of the CP, USA. This letter comments on the growing support for the civil rights legislation, but adds that there is a danger that concessions will be made which will weaken the House passed bill. It states that assurance of an end to the filibuster and passage of the bill without crippling amendments requires that groups favoring the bill voice their support. "First and foremost is this necessary from the largest and most progressive organizations in our country uniting the workers, Negro and white, and the trade unions."

The letter continues:

"We urge that all our members and followers spare no effort in the next days and weeks to assure victory in this crucial struggle for all Americans.

"Through mass meetings, demonstrations, picket lines, petitions, letters and telegrams to Senators jointly with others and as individual citizens in our places of employment, neighborhoods, in the churches, peoples organizations -- let us make a full contribution towards this goal."

The letter closes with the suggestion that it would be good to work out a specific district plan of these activities.

(U) [NY T-202 and NY T-203]
[May 4, 1964]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) On May 16 and 17, 1964, a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA, was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. The principal speeches were given by HENRY WINSTON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and GUS HALL. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
May 17, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The source made available a copy of the speech given by HENRY WINSTON at this meeting on May 16, 1964. In this speech, WINSTON made the following observations: ~~X~~

(U) Today, life is proving an old thesis developed by the CP during the 1930's, namely, that the Negro question in the United States was the touchstone in the struggle for democracy in this country. This was not always understood by Communists or the labor and progressive movements but it is now clear that the defense of democracy for all the people is centered around the struggle for complete equality for the Negro people. ~~X~~

(U) The fight for integration is in a new stage because of this. The difficulty of the struggle is clear, that is, the fighting character needed to win, the need for allies. It is impossible to win equality for the Negro people except insofar as this struggle is linked to the fight for democracy as a whole. There is a question as to what is needed from Communists to place the fight for equality on a higher plane. The main problem is to win over the white masses to the struggle and to fight in such a way as to educate and raise the level of understanding of the white masses. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) The aim of this struggle is threefold: first, to enlist in the fight the masses of progressive Americans who understand the necessity of this struggle; second, to fight in such a way as to neutralize that section which is beginning to think in opposition; and to isolate the more rabid racists among the white population and advance the struggle for Negro rights. ~~X~~
- (U) Communists must be able to show how to develop the fight for integration which must include the fight for the special demands of Negroes. ~~X~~
- (U) This meeting has been called for the purpose of seizing the main link in the fight and that is to win the white masses to the struggle, to counteract racist ideology, to place the struggle on a new and higher level, and to begin an all-out offensive against the stall-in Congress. ~~X~~
- (U) The furtherance of the fight for equality depends upon the degree to which solidarity between black and white is achieved in the labor movement. The Negro Commission of the Party has already issued a policy statement which called for the development of the alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement. The unity of black and white played a great role in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and it has to be carried to a higher stage now. ~~X~~
- (U) The source made available a copy of the report presented by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on May 16, 1964, which was entitled "A Working Paper on Negro-White Unity." This report contained, in substance, the following: ~~X~~
- (U) The purpose of the meeting is to discuss one of the most challenging problems before the country today, namely, the struggle to unify Negro and white in order to achieve a better America. There are powerful

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) forces at work operating among Negroes and whites in an attempt to prevent this unity. What is required is to see why unity is necessary and the possibilities for achieving it. ~~X~~

(U) The struggle must be waged on two fronts. While the main obstacles to this unity are among white masses, there are also problems and attitudes in the Negro community which must be changed. White chauvinism and certain forms of Negro nationalism are the weapons used by certain elements to prevent the unity of these two forces. ~~X~~

(U) Civil rights forces are losing confidence that white support can be gained. What is necessary is for Negroes and their few white supporters to keep working until the white majority is forced to make changes. One of the chief jobs for Communists is to help clarify the theories being advanced by the Negro community as to what actions to take. ~~X~~

(U) Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision de-segregating public schools, changes have taken place in the Negro and labor movements. The Negro movement has become more militant and the labor movement more conservative. Since 1954, the Negro movement has been advancing into a revolutionary force while the labor movement underwent changes making it into a more conservative force. Among the compositional changes causing the labor movement to lose its militancy, was the purging of Communists and the destruction of left unions in the movement. This anti-Communism resulted in the reduction of white participants in the struggle for civil rights. Another factor was the economic status of labor which, over the years, has negotiated wage increases. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) Today there is a crisis comparable to the Civil War which can cause the mass of white Americans to join the fight to end Jim Crow. The international situation has been the chief favorable factor under which the struggle against Jim Crow has been fought. However, this is not enough and today internal forces within the United States are going to be forced into the struggle which will create favorable conditions to achieve more than just token gains. ~~✗~~
- (U) The labor movement status of the last ten years will change in the next few years and the possibility of building a Negro labor alliance, which will be the hard core of a general people's alliance, will grow. The basis for political and social changes in this country is the economic situation as well as the international. The country's economy is in serious trouble and, within the next few years, the country will face the problem of adjusting to a peace time economy. Then it will face a serious challenge from the Soviet Union in providing better living conditions and assisting backward people. An aroused public and labor movement as well as a political change in government will be needed to tackle the economic problems. Against this setting, the objective conditions for a breakthrough against Jim Crow will become favorable. ~~✗~~
- (U) With regards to tactical approaches, no matter what differences exist, attempting to form unity on those issues on which agreement can be reached is essential. This does not mean that the Negro movement should restrict or water down its demands. It is necessary for those who operate in civil rights organizations to try and find those issues that can best unify the Negro and white communities. ~~✗~~
- (U) The Party does not have to identify itself with every form of struggle. The criterion must be, ~~✗~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) not the particular tactic, but the tactic which will get the best results in terms of mass mobilization. The issue is an ever-widening basis of unity of Negroes, of Negro and white, and Negro and labor. This is the way to achieve a break down of the Jim Crow system. ~~X~~
- (U) The source also made available details of the report given by GUS HALL at the session of May 16, 1964. HALL's report contained, in part, the following comments: ~~X~~
- (U) They must adhere to the class basis in their approach to the solution of the problem of civil rights. Also the concept of Negro-white unity is a basic approach and they should use the term "in struggle" when speaking of Negro-white unity. It is necessary to try to raise the problem to a new level of understanding. ~~X~~
- (U) The main ideological influence and problem is the influence of white chauvinism; it is the main obstacle to unity of "our people" and unity of Negro and white. They must find ways of exposing the class source of white chauvinism. The special contribution Marxists can make is the class approach to the problem. ~~X~~
- (U) They must consider how to win white America to the struggle and better ways of doing it. It is not enough to be correct; they must be right in a way that wins over people. They should consider how they can best make a contribution in advancing the struggle by winning over people. ~~X~~
- (U) They have to emphasize that this struggle is central to everything in this country, to emphasize that this struggle embodies the self-interest of the entire nation. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) They must find ways of convincing America that this is so. They also have to find ways of emphasizing that the issue of civil rights is up for resolution now. The solution is to destroy the whole system of discrimination and segregation. ~~X~~
- (U) White youth are giving leadership to the movement for civil rights and they should take note of this. Also the increased role of the clergy must be recognized. They should not underestimate the importance of the educational campaign the churches are carrying on. ~~X~~
- (U) They must give a positive estimate of the role of Communists, left elements, and socialists and especially Communist youth who are playing an increasing role in actions throughout the country. They must get away from the idea that they do not openly proclaim the contributions that Communists make in the struggle for civil rights. It is true that there is an increasing participation of Communists, Negro and white, in the struggle. ~~X~~
- (U) New victories can be won but only through militant and mass struggle. This is true because the system of segregation and discrimination has become a mainstay of the ideology of American capitalism and in keeping reactionary blocs in city, state, and national government. The roots of the problem are deep within capitalism and the system of Jim Crow will be destroyed only when capitalism is destroyed. This has to be a basic premise of the Party approach. ~~X~~
- (U) The understanding of the class basis of the system of segregation is fundamental. They have not done enough as a Marxist Party on this question and to this extent have weakened the fight. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The center of their appeal to white Americans should be that there is a critical development taking place on the civil rights issue, a drawing together of various groups to preserve the segregation system. The preservation of this system accompanied by the ideology of chauvinism and racism is becoming the unifying factor for all of the most reactionary and bigoted organizations and movements in the country. Such forces are now all joined with the Dixiecrats and White Citizens Councils in the struggle against civil rights. This coalition has the backing of Senator GOLDWATER and will have a special significance because it has him for a spokesman. There is a further crystallization of the ultra-right movement and danger based on this struggle. This is a new danger for this country. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-1
May 19, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On May 16 and 17, 1964, a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA, was held at CP Headquarters. During the May 17, 1964 session, it was stated by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT "we" must not be scared off by the statement of some civil rights leaders that they do not want Communists to participate in the movement. He said he has credentials to participate in this movement and no one is going to tell him otherwise. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-2
May 16 - 17, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of leading CP functionaries held in New York City on May 21, 1964, PHIL BART declared that the Party must develop a line and a policy in connection with Negro work and that work in this field should be intensified. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) It was generally agreed by all present that the Party must become involved in the mass struggle for civil rights. ~~o~~

(U) NY T-2
May 21, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) The report given by PHIL BART at the National Negro Commission meeting stressed mainly the fact that, although the Negro freedom movement has been surging forward in the past period, the Party has not increased its membership among the Negroes and has even retained its position with difficulty. This was blamed on red-baiting and the actions of the government against, the Party, on factionalism in Harlem with a resulting loss in membership and influence, and mainly on a lack of consciousness that the Party must be built during the struggle. ~~X~~

(U) He indicated that this established the need for developing a concentration policy in relation to this activity and, in connection with the coming 45th anniversary of the Party, stress should be given to the fact that the Party made solid contributions to the Negro struggle it can boast of. ~~X~~

(U) BART, in his report, said the meeting had stressed the ideological struggle and in this struggle they are concerned with winning over the Negro to the Party and its position, especially the Negro youth. ~~X~~

(U) He proposed a concentration in Harlem, in New York, and the south side of Chicago and consultation with Los Angeles on a possible point of concentration there. This is to be used for building and strengthening the Party, increase "The Worker" circulation, and help initiate and strengthen such left movements as have been organized and can develop in these areas. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A national committee is to be developed composed of representatives from these areas plus national organization and "Worker" representatives to report on its work and resulting activities each month to the Secretariat. A detailed plan of work should be prepared for a six month campaign, this plan to be worked out during June, 1964. ~~X~~

(U) The committee is to work out means of making its activities public and to indicate that these activities are being carried on as a contribution to the struggle for Negro freedom today. BART also said that they must counteract the idea that if the CP directly carries on such activities it will create a bad result for the Negro movement. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-1
June 2, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At the May 17 session of the meeting, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke again. He said that one of the great problems in the national liberation movement today is the lack of unity among leaders of the movement. He stated that each has his own force and each pushes his own force and that the Party has a role to play in unifying the various forces. ~~X~~

(U) LIGHTFOOT remarked that the only criticism he has is that the Party should document its contributions to the Negro liberation movement. He said they must not be scared off by the statement of some civil rights leaders that they do not want Communists to participate. He added that they must not antagonize civil rights leaders but must work with them because "they need us." ~~X~~

(U) At the end of the meeting, there was considerable discussion as to whether the Party should follow a ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) concentration policy with regard to the Negro movement. The matter of concentrating in one area was discussed but LIGHTFOOT disagreed with this stating they would not produce the over-all results looked for. There was no objection to his proposal that the point of concentration be put on the agenda for the next meeting. X
- (U) LIGHTFOOT concluded the discussion by proposing that a subcommittee be appointed and that HENRY WINSTON be responsible for the day to day operation of this committee. X

(U) [NY T-2
May 17, 1964] X

- (U) At a meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA, at CP Headquarters, New York City, on May 23, 1964, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that most of his points had been covered at the National Negro Commission meeting of the past week end. He said they had decided to concentrate on four Negro communities, Harlem, the south side of Chicago, the east or west side of Detroit, and, tentatively, Los Angeles. He said such a program will require the resources and cooperation of the districts and the National Office. X

- (U) GUS HALL also spoke and said that mobilizing whites is the most important problem in the civil rights movement and has been brushed off. He said white workers must be won over and the class basis must be their approach. He said discrimination and segregation are part of the basic structure of United States capitalism. X

(U) [NY T-2
May 23, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) During early April, 1964, the leading members of the CP, USA, assembled in New York City for a meeting of the National Executive Committee. At the session of April 6, 1964, JAMES JACKSON delivered a report on the civil rights movement in the United States. He said he would set forth some current problems with emphasis upon forthcoming dates for action so the Party could prepare itself to participate in these actions. ~~X~~

(U) JACKSON first discussed the civil rights bill before the United States Senate stating that there was need for a new spirit all across the nation to focus attention on this bill. ~~X~~

(U) He announced that the NLLC would hold its convention in May, 1964, in Cleveland and that the war on poverty was on the agenda for the convention. He said there must be a push against the barriers for jobs that have been raised against Negroes. ~~X~~

(U) He also announced that the NAACP would hold its convention during June, 1964, and urged that pressures be brought to bear on behalf of Negroes to include such things as school boycotts and rent strikes. ~~X~~

(U) JACKSON also championed reapportionment and increased Negro representation in legislative bodies. He suggested the possibility of preparing resolutions to be sent to the National Conventions of the two major parties to dramatize the inequality of Negro representation. ~~X~~

(U) Regarding the outlook for the current phase of the Negro freedom movement, there will be no rest, great militancy can be expected in the summer of 1964. He noted that there would be an "Operation Mississippi" in which 2,000 young people would go to that state. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) Regarding MALCOLM X, he has lost his moorings and direction. The Party should watch closely and perhaps can still guide him in his role. ~~✓~~

(U) JACKSON stated also that there was a concerted Party plan last year for reviewing the Party's movement in the South. He announced that the Party has been making contact with new movements and that the Party has people in each of these movements in motion in the South. ~~✓~~

(U) JACKSON referred to the Negro quarterly magazine, "Freedomways," stating that the Party can make much greater use of this magazine than they have. He said some group in the South ordered 1,000 copies of the last issue of the publication. He stated that this magazine is the theoretical contact among all parts of the Negro movement. ~~✓~~

(U) JACKSON announced that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT has been drafted to fill the opening in the Negro Commission created by the illness of BENJAMIN DAVIS. ~~✓~~

(U) [NY T-19
April 16, 1964] ~~✓~~

A characterization of "Freedomways" is contained in the Appendix of this report.

(U) A meeting of the New York District CP, Trade Union Commission was held in New York City on June 14, 1964, at which ROBERT THOMPSON gave the main report on civil rights. His report included the following: ~~✓~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The basic question of the Negro revolution is contained within the social, political, and educational affairs of the country today. ~~X~~

(U) Civil rights should be tied in with other problems such as war and peace. The peace movement and cold war policies should be brought into focus along with the civil rights issue, and the drive of capitalism against labor should also be pointed out. These two issues along with the civil rights issue should be bound together to make a strong presentation to the American people. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
June 18, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the Peace Club, Kings County CP, in Brooklyn, New York, on May 19, 1964, WILLIAM PATTERSON, in his speech, stated that the growth of the Party or the Party's failure to grow would rest on the unity that the Party might develop among civil rights forces and their leaders as well as the unity between Negro and white, and the unity between the Negro civil rights organizations and the labor movement. He said that if the Party did not undertake this and succeed it would be crucial for the Party. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-12
May 20, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The sources made available on June 29, 1964, a letter from HENRY WINSTON dated June 16, 1964, addressed, "Dear Comrade," enclosing a first draft of a statement. The letter states that the aim of this draft is to set forth proposals of the Party regarding the fight for civil rights. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) The statement is entitled, "A Program to End Segregation, Southern or Northern Style, Fight a Real War Against Poverty and for Freedom, Put America to Work to Reconstruct the Nation's Harlems and Appalachias." This statement contains the following observations: ~~X~~
- (U) The civil rights revolution is demanding full citizenship for Negro people now and this revolution has exposed such things as the poverty that exists in this country especially in the Negroes areas and in the area known as Appalachia. The segregated school systems are being challenged in the cities of the nation and there are revolts against the ghettos which are sparked by rent strikes. ~~X~~
- (U) The alliance of Negro and white workers can today bring about the guarantee of a job and decent pay for all. This alliance must be one of equals. To bring this alliance about, labor must eliminate all job discrimination used by employers and unions. The fight for jobs should be against the common enemy - the big monopolies. ~~X~~
- (U) The winning of freedom for the twenty million Negro Americans can unify the nation, can break the Dixiecrat reactionary Republican hold on Congress, and filibuster against all legislation in behalf of the people. It can end the Southern differential that provides cheap labor and makes whites and Negroes the victims of substandard wages and job conditions. ~~X~~
- (U) This statement continues: ~~X~~
- (U) "A great people's coalition for freedom, peace, decent jobs, homes and schools for all can overcome the rising Goldwater alliance of racists, reactionaries and ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"warmongers. It is toward this end that the Communist Party, USA offers the following program for the consideration of all fighters for freedom, democracy and peace.

(U) "END SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP. THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE THE LAW OF THE LAND NORTH AND SOUTH. NO MORE SEGREGATION, SOUTHERN OF NORTHERN STYLE, DE JURE OR DE FACTO, BY LAW OR IN PRACTICE. LED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE NATION SHOULD EMBARK ON A GREAT CRUSADE TO INTEGRATE AMERICA. ✕

(U) "Toward this end we propose: ✕

(U) "* A multi-billion dollar federal educational program to provide free, integrated schooling everywhere, including on a college and technical level. Special assistance, including financial subsidies to Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth to enable them to overcome the educational lag due to decades of discrimination. These are to be steps leading to a national, integrated educational system of a high quality everywhere. ✕

(U) "*A multi-billion dollar federal housing program to reconstruct our cities on an integrated basis, to end ghettos by erasing all discriminatory neighborhood frontiers and to provide adequate low and middle income homes at reasonable rents. To guarantee the implementation of this program, a CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR INTEGRATED PUBLIC HOUSING should be set up, consisting of civil rights, labor and civic representatives. ✕

(U) "*A national Fair Housing Law barring discrimination in housing everywhere. ✕

(U) "*These are to be steps toward using public housing to set national standards for high quality, integrated housing at no more than 15 percent of the ✕

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) "average monthly income. ~~X~~
- (U) "*A national civil rights agency with full executive authority to enforce the Constitution and civil rights laws. ~~X~~
- (U) "*A federal CODE OF ELECTION LAWS that will remove all restrictions on voting rights, democratize party primaries, provide for machine voting everywhere, promote proportional representation and eliminate the discriminatory legal obstacles preventing minority parties from getting on the ballot. ~~X~~
- (U) "* City Civilian Review Boards to act on charges of police brutality. ~~X~~
- (U) "But the war against poverty and discrimination must above all be waged against its strongholds. To eliminate the ghetto, the battle must also be fought from within to transform them from areas of blight, slums and depression into thriving healthy communities that CAN ATTRACT INSTEAD OF REPEL NEW RESIDENTS OF ALL COLOR. TOWARD THIS AIM WE PROPOSE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMBARK ON A PROGRAM TO PUT AMERICA TO WORK TO RECONSTRUCT THE NATION'S HARLEMS AND TO REVIVE ITS APPALACHIAS. OPERATION - RECONSTRUCT AND REVIVE THE HARLEMS AND APPALACHIAS - SHOULD BE THE NUMBER ONE NATIONAL EFFORT FOR WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD APPROPRIATE A MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR RECONSTRUCTION FUND. ~~X~~
- (U) "*A NATIONAL TASK FORCE, WITH A SPECIAL YOUTH CORPS, LED BY THE TRADE UNIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS SHOULD BE MOBILIZED TO: ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) "*Construct schools of excellence specializing in science, technique and humanities to tap the vast unused talent and to promote the integration of Negro communities. ~~X~~
- (U) "*Tear down the slums, renovate sound structures and erect low and middle income integrated projects at rents in keeping with the average income of the present residents and with subsidies for those who cannot afford the rent. ~~X~~
- (U) "*Build industrial parks to attract new and thriving industries. ~~X~~
- (U) "*Construct technical and scientific training centers to equip semi-skilled and unskilled workers, especially youth for skilled jobs. ~~X~~
- (U) "*Establish cultural and entertainment centers to promote the fullest use of the great reservoir of talents in the Negro communities, to make this national treasure available to all and to stimulate the process of integration in these communities. ~~X~~
- (U) "A SPECIAL FEDERAL AID TO NEGRO SMALL BUSINESSMEN PROGRAM SHOULD BE SET UP TO PROVIDE THEM WITH LONG TERM LOW RATE LOANS TO ENABLE THEM TO EXIST AND EXPAND IN THE COMMUNITY. ~~X~~
- (U) "REVIVE APPALACHIA (A special program on Appalachia will be added). ~~X~~
- (U) "This program calls for a drastic change in HOW OUR GOVERNMENT SPENDS OUR MONEY AND WHERE IT DIRECTS ITS MAIN EFFORTS. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) "It is a program for a ~~KNOCK~~ DOWN WAR AGAINST POVERTY AND SEGREGATION. IT CALLS FOR A 'WAR' BUDGET TO FIGHT THE ONLY KIND OF WAR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, NEGRO AND WHITE WANT TO FIGHT -- THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY AND FOR FREEDOM. IT CALLS FOR A DRASTIC CUT IN THE \$56 BILLION WAR BUDGET. ~~X~~
- (U) "IS IT NOT TIME TO SPEND MORE OF OUR NATIONAL TREASURE ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HARLEMS AND THE DISTRESSED AREAS OF APPLALACHIA THAN ON THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND? EVEN FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROSWELL GILPATRICK RECENTLY ADMITTED THAT THE \$56 BILLION MILITARY BUDGET COULD AFFORD A 25 PER CENT REDUCTION. THIS WOULD MEAN A SAVING OF \$14 BILLION A YEAR THAT COULD BE ASSIGNED FOR THE PROJECT OF PEACEFUL RECONSTRUCTION WE PROPOSE. ~~X~~
- (U) "TO COMPEL SUCH A SHIFT IN GOVERNMENTAL SPENDING CALLS FOR AN EVEN GREATER AND BETTER ORGANIZED PEOPLE'S COALITION THAN THE ONE WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE NEW DEAL. THE UNPRECEDENTED AUGUST 28 MARCH ON WASHINGTON AND THE FORCES THAT COMPELLED THE US SENATE TO VOTE CLOTURE ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS HISTORY REVEAL THAT SUCH A COALITION IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT IS IN THE MAKING. IT IS TOWARD THAT END THAT WE OFFER THIS PROGRAM FOR CONSIDERATION. ~~X~~
- (U) The sources made available on June 29, 1964, a mimeographed letter dated June 11, 1964, addressed "To All Districts" and signed, "Comradely Yours, Organization Bureau." This letter commented on two items which the Organization Bureau urged be given immediate attention. One concerned the refusal of the Supreme Court to grant certiorari to the Government's appeal on the McCarran Act against the CP which it said represents an important victory against ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) the Act. It adds that a number of cases are still pending before the courts which are part of the persecution resulting from the McCarran Act. The letter urged that every means be taken "to bring to the attention of the people in your area the need for struggle to defeat McCarranism." ~~X~~

(U) The second item captioned, "Terroristic Actions of Southern State Governments," concerns the reactions by these governments to the civil rights movement in the Southern states. It relates that "some cities have been turned into armed camps against the Negro people," and that arrests, beatings, and new laws are being used in an effort to destroy the movement for civil rights. It adds: ~~X~~

(U) "We urge that every possible support be given in the struggle to defend the Negro people and whites, who have joined in the struggle in the South today, by calling for federal intervention by the President. This requires federal forces to protect the citizens in these states." ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-202 and NY T-203]
June 29, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The source made available a letter dated June 24, 1964, addressed "To All Districts" from the National Organization Bureau of the CP, USA. This letter referred to the "terror now raging not only in Mississippi, in St. Augustine, Florida, but in many other parts of the South." It commented specifically on the disappearance of three young men working on the Mississippi summer project, the alleged statement by JOHN DOAR, Deputy Chief of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department at Oxford, Ohio, that the volunteers leaving ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) for Mississippi would have no federal protection, the bills rushed through the Mississippi Legislature legalizing racism and genocide, the appearance of sixteen freedom fighters from Mississippi before a panel of writers and educators in Washington, D.C., on June 8, 1964, and the acts of terrorism in the South that have been written about in the press. It states that the dangers confronting people in the South are summarized in "The Worker" of June 28, 1964. ~~X~~
- (U) This letter states that the following actions should be taken immediately: ~~X~~
- (U) "1. It is necessary for each person aware of these facts individually and through securing the support of his or her neighbors, fellow workers in the shops, trade unions and other organizations, churches, etc. to individually and collectively call upon President Johnson and the Dept. of Justice to reverse the position taken by John Doar and to provide all the necessary federal force to guarantee and make secure the lives and Constitutional rights of all citizens in the South, Negro and white. ~~X~~
- (U) "2. To demand and, if necessary, to ask Congress to pass legislation outlawing the use of dogs, electric prods and other such barbaric methods against demonstrators in any situation. ~~X~~
- (U) "3. We should especially insist on immediate federal intervention in Mississippi where the liberties of the people are being violated and the lives of the Freedom fighters are in jeopardy. ~~X~~
- (U) "4. We should everywhere, ourselves and through the efforts of others, help raise funds to support the noble work of these courageous young men, Negro and white, now in the very forefront of battle for all of us in Mississippi. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) "We urge that this letter and the editorial in The Worker already mentioned, together with other articles and editorials that have appeared in connection with the significance of the passage of the Civil Rights Bill on the one hand, and the Goldwater-Wallace threat on the other, be the basis for discussions everywhere among our members, leading personnel, in order to create the greatest clarity and firmness in this crucial struggle." X

(U) [NY T-98
June 29, 1964] X

(U) On July 25, 1964, a leading CP functionary stated the CP is against further racial demonstrations in ghetto areas such as Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York City until the present tension eases. He advised that the Party leadership favors the holding of demonstrations and rallies in areas largely populated by white persons.

(U) [NY T-12
July 31, 1964] X

(U) The second day's session of the meeting of the CP, USA, National Board and invited guests was held on September 19, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City. HENRY WINSTON, in discussing the problems which exist between the Communist Parties of Russia and China, mentioned that the Chinese are developing a narrow type of nationalism. He said peaceful coexistence can be attained without compromising "our" position on anti-imperialism. He said the thinking of the CP, USA, has to be brought to the world movement. He noted that the only revolutionary forces in the United States are the Negro people. He said the struggle of the Negro people must be united with the struggle throughout the world against white minority. X

(U) [NY T-2
September 19, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) ~~2.~~ PLANS MADE AT DISTRICT AND LOWER LEVEL MEETINGS:

(U) A meeting of the New York District CP Board was held on January 10, 1963. In a report on the press, WILLIAM ALBERTSON stated that it was needed to build mass influence. They must bring "The Worker" into the mass movements of New York. The paper, to be accepted by the mass movements, has to reflect the activities of the movement itself. It must also report the activities of the labor movement and the Negro movement. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-236
January 10, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) A meeting of an East Side club of the CP was held on May 18, 1964, at 37 East 4th Street, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) JACK STACHEL, the guest speaker spoke on the civil rights movement. STACHEL warned the members not to support civil rights groups who were pledged to cause chaos. They were also warned to shun left groups, such as the Progressive Labor Movement, and supporters of Red China. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-33
May 20, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the Forbes CP Club held on June 18, 1963, it was announced that a service center to aid Negroes in Harlem is in the process of being opened by the CP. This center is to be called Harlem House and a young Negro comrade has been assigned to handle the operations of Harlem House. The name of this Negro comrade was not revealed. The purpose of Harlem House was to aid Negroes with their economic problems, job problems and any other problems which might arise from time to time. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-13
June 19, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] pays the rent for Harlem House located at 2135 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Representative of
BMA Realty Corporation
August 26, 1963

Harlem House moved out of 2135 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, at the end of September, 1963.

[redacted]

January 8, 1964

b6
b7C

Harlem House has not been reorganized as no leadership has been found.

(U) [NY T-10
January 31, 1964] X

(U) At a meeting of the West Side Section Committee NYCCP, held on July 15, 1963, it was stated that there should be a mobilization of all Section members to advance participation in the March on Washington (MOW). X

(U) [NY T-7
July 19, 1963] X

(U) At a meeting of Club Number 1, West Side Section, NYCCP, held on July 10, 1963, [redacted] a member of the Club, spoke on "The Negro Revolution" and stated that "Our Party has made a great contribution to the present day struggle of the Negro people by organizing them; by demanding civil rights for the Negro people and by exposing the inhuman exploitation of the Negroes by the Eastlands and other Southern bigots." X

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] continued, "Our Party has, is, and will continue to play a big role in the struggle for liberation of the Negro people...As Communists we should participate in every stage of the struggle of the Negro; it is our duty to be on the picket lines, demonstrations and sit-ins." X

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) "We are the ones to show to white and Negro that we are determined to fight for civil rights until those rights will be won". ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-6
July 25, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the 11th Assembly District (A.D.) CP Club in Harlem on August 2, 1963, [redacted] discussed the MOW to take place on August 28, 1963, and stated that CP members should go to the March with their church, union, or civic group and not as Communists. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] said that the CP did not want the CP members to go as Communist groups because they could be much more effective in influencing people if they went mixed in with other groups. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) All members were asked to attempt to influence non-CP people to attend this MOW and that the Club members should report back at the next meeting the exact number of persons whom they had influenced to make this trip. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-11
August 5, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At a CP Club meeting on August 8, 1963, [redacted] [redacted], Bronx County CP Coordinator, discussed the split in Negro leadership on civil rights matters. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) According to the informant, [redacted] advised that the CP would back the NAACP leadership and programs. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-40
August 16, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) On August 12, 1963, [redacted] a member of the Bronx County CP (BCCP) Council, urged all members of the Tremont CP Club to participate in the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sponsored picket line at the White Castle Diner in the Bronx. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

She advised that this is an important demonstration as it has been widely publicized.

(U) [NY T-8
August 16, 1963] ✕

(U) At a meeting of the 11th A.D. CP Club in Harlem on August 16, 1963, [] stated that the CP had lost many of its Negro members because these members had considered the "Negro Question" to be a more important matter. He stated that this is not true, that such an emphasis should not be placed on the Negro question because all of the CP members, both Negro and white, were the same; that they were all "workers". ✕

b6
b7C

(U) He stated that the important thing for the Negro was not to fight as a Negro but rather as a person, an American having an ideological duty. ✕

(U) [NY T-11
August 19, 1963] ✕

(U) At a meeting of Club Number 1, West Side Section, NYCCP, held on September 16, 1963, [] of the Club, urged all members of that Club to send telegrams to President KENNEDY urging federal troops be sent to maintain peace in Alabama. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-7
September 19, 1963] ✕

(U) At a Bedford-6th A.D. Club meeting on August 6, 1963, it was announced that 15 volunteers were needed from the Kings County CP (KCCP) for the purpose of distributing "The Worker" on August 28, 1963, to those attending the MOW. ✕

(U) [NY T-4
August 7, 1963] ✕

At a KCCP Committee meeting on August 15, 1963, it was announced that a meeting would be held on August 26, 1963, in New York City, for approximately 100 individuals, who did not

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

plan to attend the MOW, but who would pass out CP literature to those people who were attending the March.

(U) [NY T-35
August 19, 1963] X

(U) At a Peace Club CP meeting on August 20, 1963, arrangements were made and plans finalized whereby Club members, their families and friends would receive transportation to Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, to participate in the MOW. X

(U) [NY T-12
August 21, 1963] X

(U) At a meeting of the Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan area, NYCCP, held on August 26, 1963, the members of the Club were urged to attend the MOW. X

(U) [NY T-13
August 26, 1963] X

(U) A meeting of the Nationalities Club, Upper East Side Section, NYCCP, was held on August 2, 1963. It was learned that this Club had printed several leaflets, both in English and Spanish, and had them distributed among the Puerto Rican residents in that area, urging their support of Negroes in the civil rights and equal job opportunities fight. X

(U) [NY T-82
August 28, 1963] X

(U) At a meeting of the Nationalities Club on August 30, 1963, [redacted] gave a report on the MOW. X

(U) [redacted] stated that it was a very successful demonstration and that this March had made a few persuasive and lasting impressions on the Congressmen. She urged the CP members to mail post cards to President KENNEDY urging the use of federal troops in Alabama in the event the schools in that state did not open on time. X

(U) [NY T-82
September 13, 1963] X

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a meeting of the 11th A.D. CP Club in Harlem on September 13, 1963, [] gave a resume of the MOW and of the part the CP played in its success. X

b6
b7c

(U) [] stated that the CP was instrumental in filling many buses and train coaches for the MOW. Also, that the Metropolitan Council on Housing trains carried many CP members and friends. He said that all in all the CP influenced 2,000 to 3,000 persons throughout New York City to attend the MOW. X

(U) [NY T-10
September 18, 1963] X

(U) At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Boro Hall CP Club on September 17, 1963, a discussion was held concerning the then recent Church bombing in Birmingham with the resultant killing of four young Negro girls. The possibility of a protest march was considered, but it was decided that if such a march should occur, the Boro Hall CP Club would not send a delegation. X

(U) [NY T-35
September 18, 1963] X

(U) Sources furnished a 40 page, not for publication, first draft of a ten year plan for the development of the kind of public school system in New York City which will provide every child - Negro, white, Puerto Rican - with a first rate education, giving them the equipment they need to play their full and exciting part in the Space Age. X

(U) This draft, which sources stated was prepared for the New York District CP by VICTOR PERLO, reflects the CP's program in this regard. It calls for desegregation to be carried out within one year in grades kindergarten through nine through a modified Princeton plan; free transportation to students requiring it; freedom of choice by students to any high school in New York City subject to the capacity of the school and for the teaching of the history of the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples to be a major feature in the school curriculum. X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) This draft further sets forth requirements for the construction of new school facilities, the regulating of the size of classes and the number of teachers to be employed; sets forth various requirements to improve teaching quality and proposes periodic increases in the public school budget through 1974. ~~X~~

(U) The draft further calls for preferential treatment for Negro and Puerto Rican students in recognition of past inferior educational opportunities. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-4
October 23, 1963
NY T-36
October 4, 1963

(U) The New York District CP Commission on Schools met on October 8, 1963, at 552 Riverside Drive, New York City, for the specific purpose of discussing the draft of a ten year plan for public schools in New York City which had been prepared by VICTOR PERLO in consultation with members of this commission. ~~X~~

(U) The consensus was that PERLO had done an excellent job in presenting a program which could be achieved under the present capitalistic system. It was suggested, however, the section of the draft dealing with the education of retarded children be amplified. Specifically, it should be defined as by whom and how such children would be selected. ~~X~~

(U) It was stated that after the New York District CP had given its final approval to the draft, an Editorial Committee would meet to prepare the draft in its final form. ~~X~~

(U) It was further determined that VICTOR PERLO at the specific request of the CP is now working on a study of how both the economic status of the lowest workers in the social structure of New York City and the overall economy of the city could be upgraded with complete disarmament and the conversion of all war related industries in the New York City area. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) Following this project, PERLO, on behalf of the CP, will do a similar study of a program for the improvement of all health services, including hospitals, medical care, et cetera. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-36
October 11, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the New York District CP Board and invited guests held on October 21, 1963, at 269 West 25th Street, New York City, BILL ALBERTSON presented a report concerning the above document prepared by PERLO. ~~X~~

(U) ALBERTSON proceeded to go over this 40 page document and desired to receive comments relative to any possible additions or deletions. ~~X~~

(U) The comments which followed reflected PERLO made no reference to automation, to night school or to physical education nor was the subject of socialism dealt with in sufficient detail. ~~X~~

(U) PERLO, who was present, stated all comments made were good; however, he did not have time to utilize them in this report. He stated he had been told this report was desired by the CP by December 1, 1963, and that he would incorporate certain revisions and have the report ready in two to four weeks. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-4
October 27, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) At a CP meeting in Brooklyn, New York, on November 8, 1963, a Kings County CP Commission on Integration was formed. The Commission was to first focus its activities around the integration controversy concerning Junior High School 275 in Brooklyn, and is to act as a steering committee to bring about a protest by 1,000 mothers before the New York City Board of Education. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-35
November 12, 1963 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) The New York District CP Commission on Schools met in New York City on December 17, 1963. ~~X~~

(U) BILL ALBERTSON stated the VICTOR PERLO report on education would be put out in printed form sometime in January, 1964. It will be mailed to a list of people which will include members of the New York City Board of Education, members of the New York City Government, members of local school boards throughout New York City, and other city and local officials. ~~X~~

(U) ALBERTSON stated the report would bear a notation that it has not been copyrighted and it is permissible for anyone to reprint part or all of it. He further stated the CP is considering taking the integration section of this report and publishing it separately in "The Worker" in the near future. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-36
December 19, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the Nationalities Club of the Communist Party in New York City on October 11, 1963, postal cards were distributed and the club members were instructed to obtain signatures and to then return the cards. These cards were addressed to the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., and the text on the cards urged Senators to actively work in Congress for the passage of the civil rights legislation in its entirety. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-82
October 14, 1963 ~~X~~

(U) On October 14, 1963, a meeting of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), New York District Board was held in Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. At this meeting, BOB THOMPSON gave a report on "The Party", during which, he posed the question as to what the Party was doing at the present time. He said, that in regards to the civil rights movement and the peace movement, the Party was making contributions to assist them and that this could be shown by their participation in the March On Washington. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) THOMPSON also said that the Party must have areas of concentration, and in listing these areas, he named Harlem, where he said the Party should be rebuilt. He also mentioned as areas of concentration, the Negro American Labor Council and other civil rights groups. With respect to Harlem, THOMPSON mentioned that both he and WILLIAM PATTERSON are presently attached to groups in that area. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
October 16, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the New York District Communist Party Committee and invited guests held October 19, 1963, at 85 East 4th Street, New York City, BOB THOMPSON presented a report on "The Party". ~~X~~

(U) In this report, THOMPSON stated the Party had made gains in certain fields, one being on the Negro question. This, he said, resulted from the March On Washington and subsequent results of the March. The Negro movement is a dynamic and forward looking movement; however, the Party has not recruited outstanding Negroes into the Party from militant Negro organizations. ~~X~~

(U) THOMPSON went on to state the New York District CP should concentrate in Harlem. They should have CP speakers speaking out on the issues concerning the people today and also sponsor forums featuring Communist Party speakers. THOMPSON said the Party should join other forces in Harlem to develop a real broad base which would be open to all viewpoints. In this way, the Party would have a full status and would help classify the picture in Harlem. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
October 22, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the New York State CP Committee held October 19, 1963, at the Ukrainian Hall, East 4th Street, New York City, BOB THOMPSON stated no one would dispute that the CP was not a leader in the Negro struggle. He stated a special effort should be made in Harlem to bring the

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) Party out into the open in the Negro fight. ~~X~~

NY T-101
October 22, 1963 ~~X~~

- (U) A meeting of the New York District CP Staff was held October 29, 1963, at New York State CP Headquarters, New York City, for the purpose of discussing a recent announcement by a New York City Commission which recommended preferential treatment for Negroes with respect to jobs. ~~X~~

- (U) ROBERT THOMPSON stated the New York District should attempt to present this recommendation to labor groups and others as well as running a series of articles in "The Worker" on it. He said every effort should be made to get the various civil rights groups to make statements on the recommendation. ~~X~~

- (U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON felt the recommendation would have a good impact on the country as a whole as well as in New York. He noted several civil rights groups have taken a public position on this question, but the fact that a city body came back with the recommendation makes it more important. PATTERSON expressed the opinion the opportunity was available for the Party to present its position and to mobilize forces to support the statement. ~~X~~

- (U) [redacted] stated efforts should be made to put out flyers or pamphlets in order to clear up any possible misunderstanding of the issue. He said it is important also for the Government to create jobs in order to overcome any fear that white workers might have concerning their jobs being taken over by Negroes. [redacted] was of the opinion some sort of major document on preferential treatment should be issued. He said it was important to get in on the ground floor in the national discussion and put forth the Party's position. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

- (U) ROBERT THOMPSON agreed and stated the central undertaking was an effort to obtain mass support for the statement. He noted the Negro people want equality whether or not there is adversity. He said he would like ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) to propose a statement be issued signed by both WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and himself. ~~✗~~

(U) [NY T-5
October 29, 1963] ~~✗~~

(U) On October 30, 1963, a meeting of the State Industrial Committee of the CP was held in Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York City, at which there was a discussion of the National and State Communist Party Committee report concerning a general recruiting drive for new CP members, looking toward the development of the Negro Peoples Revolution in the United States. There also was a discussion on the need for the Communist Party to concentrate in the Harlem area. ~~✗~~

(U) [NY T-74
October 31, 1963] ~~✗~~

(U) Concerning the recruiting drive discussed at the above meeting, it was stated that they must be alert to all chances of projecting themselves and that they should concentrate on Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

(U) [NY T-237
October 30, 1963] ~~✗~~

(U) On November 11, 1963, WILLIAM PATTERSON stated Harlem should be regarded as a Concentration point. He said it was necessary to have Negro unity there and to develop a working class leadership. He said "we" have two adult Party clubs in Harlem at the present, that the clubs were integrated, and that they needed strengthening as they were not playing a role. He recommended that these clubs work with the youth and that each club member be a member of a mass organization. JACK STACHEL suggested the mid-week edition of "The Worker" as a potential organ and recommended that copies of the paper be distributed in Harlem without cost. STACHEL said the organization of schools in Harlem dealing with Negro history and the American Revolution should be considered. ~~✗~~

(U) [NY T-5
November, 1963] ~~✗~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The source made available a press release dated October 30, 1963, on the letterhead of the Communist Party of New York State, issued by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and ROBERT THOMPSON, spokesmen for the New York State Communist Party.

This press release pertains to the October 23, 1963 "Policy Statement on the State of the Negro Today", adopted by the City Commission on Human Rights of New York which was made public on October 28, 1963.

The press release states the New York State CP considers the Human Rights Commission has done the City of New York, and the State and Nation as well, a service of immeasurable value through the issuance of this "Policy Statement."

It goes on to state that in its essence this statement is a stirring call that all agencies of government pursue policies which recompense Negro Americans "for the inequities of 100 years."

In conclusion, this press release states,

"The Communist Party urges each and every one of its members to play their full part in this struggle.

"It urges that every union, every peoples' organization, every decent minded individual make their voice and pressure felt at once in support of the basic principles set forth in the Human Rights Commission Policy Statement.

"Demand that the City Council, Mayor Wagner, and all other city officials, including candidates in the current elections support this Policy Statement.

"Demand that the City Council and the Wagner Administration adopt the Human Rights Commission Policy Statement as New York City Policy and that it be applied by all city agencies.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"In the context of a mounting struggle for the shorter work week, the \$1.50 an hour minimum wage, and large scale Federal, State and City financial projects which will open up more jobs for all workers, the policies projected by the Human Rights Commission can, if fought for in this manner, advance Negro and White unity and the well being of all the people."

(U) [NY T-90
November 27, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) A CP meeting on integration in public schools was held on November 8, 1963, at 416 Rockaway Parkway, Brooklyn, New York. ~~X~~

(U) BILL ALBERTSON explained the purpose of the meeting by stating he desired the group to become a Kings County CP Commission on Integration. He said he wanted the group to focus its activities around the controversy surrounding Junior High School 275 in Brooklyn. ALBERTSON related he wanted this group to act as a steering committee to bring about a protest by 1,000 mothers, who are white women, at the Board of Education for more integration in Brooklyn schools. ~~X~~

(U) After a discussion, it was decided the best way to accomplish this would be to mail over 100 letters of invitation to white parents active in Parent-Teacher Associations to attend a meeting at which they would be urged to participate in a protest and each to get an additional ten white women to join them. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-35
November 12, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) A meeting of the Kings County CP Council was held in Brooklyn, New York, on November 15, 1963, with DANNY RUBEL as the principal speaker. During his speech, he referred to civil rights and said that Party members must be more militant because Negroes cannot win this struggle without the full support of all the White Communist Party members. ~~X~~
- (U) [NY T-35
November 18, 1963] ~~X~~
- (U) On November 11, 1963, a meeting was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, which was opened by WILLIAM PATTERSON. He designated the Harlem area of New York City as a concentration point stating that it is necessary to have unity there and to develop a working class leadership. His additional remarks included the following: ~~X~~
- (U) It is necessary to have Negro-White unity, to cite the unemployed communities and to bring forth a satisfactory program for housing and schools. ~~X~~
- (U) In Harlem, at the present time, "we" have two Party adult clubs but the problem is to strengthen them because they are not playing a role. It is necessary to bring forth the image of the Party in its correct light. "We" have many friends in that area and there is a possibility of operating within the Democratic Party there. ~~X~~
- (U) He would propose that there be a plan of work from the two clubs consistent with their possibilities. These clubs should work with the youth and each member of the club must be a member of a mass organization. Such a plan must be drawn up immediately and he would propose having a Harlem conference soon regarding the possibilities of growth in that area. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) ROBERT THOMPSON noted that the main mass activity is civil rights. In regards to civil rights, it should be a Party-wide mobilization of Whites. What is done in Harlem is dependent on what can be done to move the White community and labor movement. THOMPSON said that they have in mind a forum in Harlem which would be open to all points of view, but a discussion is needed regarding the personnel to be involved as well as its location. The forum should have a directorate of 8 to 10 people, which would have a "composition" that will insure "one" outlook. However, they must guard against making it a Party forum. Such an understanding would open up avenues not existing for the Party and would help expand the youth program. ~~X~~

(U) JACK STACHEL posed the question of how they could bring forth the Party in Harlem. He felt there should be some concentration in regards to "The Worker" which should begin by having assignments of people to get stories about Harlem and have the midweek issue of "The Worker" become almost an organ of Harlem. He recommended that 1,000 copies of the midweek issue be distributed free each week. ~~X~~

(U) Continuing, STACHEL proposed as an objective of January, 1964, the organization of two schools in Harlem; have a class on Negro history and one on the American Revolution, where they could deal with economics and Marxism. ~~X~~

(U) BEN DAVIS said he had agreed to help with the work in Harlem if he "would be on top of a club." ~~X~~

(U) The meeting was closed by ROBERT THOMPSON stating there would be a full discussion regarding the proposals suggested. He said he felt there is a need to set up leadership for Harlem. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-5
November 11, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) At a meeting of the New York District CP Board held November 18, 1963, at 85 East 4th Street, New York City, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON discussed the Negro question, with particular emphasis on Harlem. ~~X~~
- (U) PATTERSON's report was a review of the social and living conditions in the Harlem area, which he described as a mass Negro ghetto. He made an appeal for a renewal of Communist Party work and activity in the Harlem area. PATTERSON proposed there be a conference of the Harlem Party in the near future to decide what can be done regarding the renewal of Party activity in that area. ~~X~~
- (U) NY T-4
November 21, 1963 ~~X~~
- (U) A meeting of the Kings County CP School Commission was held in Brooklyn, New York, on December 6, 1963. The agenda included a report from all of the areas in Brooklyn, which were represented, on the current integration situation in public schools, as well as the selection of a temporary executive committee of the Kings County CP School Commission. ~~X~~
- (U) At this meeting, [redacted] appointed [redacted] and [redacted] as members of a temporary Executive Committee of the Kings County CP School Commission and directed them to draft a letter and to send it to all CP clubs in Brooklyn, informing them of school commission meetings and requesting each club to send representatives to future meetings. ~~X~~
- (U) NY T-35
December 12, 1963 ~~X~~
- (U) The New York District Staff met on January 7, 1964, at New York District CP Headquarters, at which the question of the school boycott in New York City was discussed briefly. ~~X~~
- (U) ROBERT THOMPSON felt the CP's role in the situation should be one of unifying and strengthening the leadership in the movement. He recommended an article or an editorial be printed in "The Worker" regarding the school boycott. THOMPSON said one can call the school situation a boycott, strike or anything else but it is an effective form

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) of involving the masses in the struggle. ✕

(U) THOMPSON related the CP would fight to the last ditch to prevent the destruction of the public school system in the United States. He said the Party's position is that if it is the most militant fighter against segregation, it is because it is the only way to improve the school system, make it more democratic and serve better the interests of democracy. ✕

(U) JAMES TORMEY stated the CP's primary effort has to be to strengthen the boycott movement from two points of view, one, because of the inherent importance of it, and two, to strengthen [redacted] hand in any future negotiations. He was of the opinion they should call a conference of the top forces in the civil rights movement in order to work out a uniform approach. ✕

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-5
January 7, 1964] ✕

(U) At a meeting the New York District Staff held on January 9, 1964, at New York District CP Headquarters, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON briefly spoke regarding the school situation. He said the time table method is the weapon that must be used against "tokenism". Further, the CP was going to introduce its program with the idea that it will strengthen creative ideas in the minds of others. Continuing, PATTERSON remarked the CP has to bring to the Negro the feeling that even if the Negroes are not embracing it organically, it is the Party which is strengthening their morale. ✕

(U) [NY T-5
January 9, 1964] ✕

(U) At a meeting of CP Press Directors in New York City on January 9, 1964, [redacted] who is in charge of the Press Directors in Manhattan, discussed an article on school integration which appeared in "The Worker" for January 7, 1964. This article is entitled, "A Plan to Achieve" ✕

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) Integration in Our Schools and Eliminate Ghetto Standards in Education", presented as a public service by the New York State District of the CP. [redacted] said the Press Directors in attendance should take 500 copies of this issue of "The Worker" to their clubs and that the club members should distribute them, without charge, at various locations in the city. She also stated the Press Directors who were not present should obtain copies of the paper and follow the same procedure. ✕

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-82
January 15, 1964] ✕

(U) On January 12, 1964, a new organization known as the Harlem Freedomways Forum, met at the ADAM CLAYTON POWELL Center, 144 West 138th Street, New York, New York. The idea of this organization was approved by the Harlem Communist Party about two years ago. At a meeting of the 11th A.D. Club of the CP on January 17, 1964, members were urged to attend the meeting of the Forum on January 19, 1964. The members were told this new organization was, on the surface, a community group and that they should not espouse CP doctrine. They were also told the CP would use the Freedomways Forum to recruit new members and that the CP must retain control of the Forum. ✕

(U) [NY T-11
January 20, 1964] ✕

(U) The New York District CP Board met on January 20, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. ✕

(U) [redacted] presented a report on the rent situation in Harlem. This report included a summary of what was happening in the rent strikes in Harlem and the slowness with which the city is moving against the slum landlords. ✕

b6
b7C

[redacted] mentioned there was to be a landlord-tenant hearing on January 23, 1964, at City Hall. She mentioned "they" are having more difficulty with the Puerto Ricans on the lower east side following through on the rent

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) strike than "they" did with the Negroes in Harlem. The reason for this is that when the Negroes were told to refuse to pay their rent, they did so; however, the Puerto Ricans were afraid to do this and only after persuasion has some headway been made. The Puerto Rican people have been persuaded that when they receive an eviction or rent notification to bring it to the Lower East Side Council and they receive instructions from them on what to do in regard to withholding the rent from the landlord. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
January 24, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The CP of the Harlem Region held an All Harlem Conference on January 26, 1964, in New York City. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON reported to the Conference that the CP must take part in the mass movements on Civil Rights issues in Harlem, the CP must be in the forefront in Labor struggles for better jobs for Negroes, and the upgrading of Negroes. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-10
January 27, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a Kings County CP Conference held on February 9, 1964, it was stated that the Kings County organization has achieved a good record in the school integration and school boycott movements. It was emphasized that Communists should play a larger role in these movements and identify themselves with the integration movement. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-17
February 10, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Committee met on February 8, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City, at which BOB THOMPSON presented a report on the school boycott. ~~X~~

(U) THOMPSON stated the boycott of the New York City schools brought unity for the first time between the Negro and Puerto Rican people. He said the Party would ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) have to study the results of the boycott and come out with a program for future action. He said New York labor organizations and leadership did not give much support to the boycott but realized later they had made a mistake. THOMPSON related the liberal forces in New York City were now afraid they had lost control and influence in the movement because the boycott brought out new leadership. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-178
February 13, 1964] ~~X~~

- (U) On February 9, 1964, a Kings County CP Conference was held at the Bensonhurst Fraternal Center, 2018 86th Street, Brooklyn, New York. [redacted] gave the major report at this conference. He said that the Party should work efficiently in mass organizations. He said that the Party plays an important role in the Negro struggle and pointed out that the school desegregation is a must. He said it is necessary for the Negro and more so for the Whites. He stated that the Whites gain more by desegregation than the Negroes do. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-12
February 10, 1964] ~~X~~

- (U) The New York District Staff met on February 17, 1964, at New York District CP Headquarters, New York City. The sole item under consideration was school boycott activity in New York City. ~~X~~

- (U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated the Puerto Rican committee has withdrawn from the City Wide Committee for Integrated Schools as a whole. He asserted the split in the City Wide Committee has been skillfully used by the opposition. PATTERSON remarked he felt the CP should do everything it could do to support the school boycott. ~~X~~

- (U) PATTERSON expressed the opinion the top leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is worried about its prestige and about the fact the possibilities are very good that a democratic movement in the streets may develop as a result of what has happened around the school boycott activity in New York. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- (U) BILL ALBERTSON noted the NAACP had withdrawn from the City Wide Committee and there was a mass upheaval in the local NAACP. He said he felt the Party should find out what happened that enabled the national NAACP leadership to whip the local NAACP leadership into line even though the local NAACP rank and file were opposed. ~~X~~
- (U) ALBERTSON described the split in the City Wide Committee as a weakening of the whole movement. He said the white anti-integration forces are now organized on a city-wide basis. ALBERTSON related some white forces who supported the last school boycott have qualms about the matter of bussing children out of neighborhood areas. He further declared another factor to keep in mind is that the School Board is split. ~~X~~
- (U) BETTY GANNETT TORMEY expressed the opinion that, with the mounting opposition of the anti-integration forces, a second boycott could be less effective than the first. ~~X~~
- (U) BOB THOMPSON noted the NAACP, the Urban League and the Puerto Ricans have not stated they would support a second boycott. He said the CP has to make an estimate of whether the militancy of the Negro and Puerto Rican masses is such that they would support a second boycott without a unified leadership. He said the Party concludes a second boycott would not be feasible and that it should do all it can to work with the interested groups in whatever line is considered appropriate. ~~X~~

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON commented the boycott is a major tactical weapon and should be regarded as such. He said he did not think failure of a second boycott would cause irreparable damage, only if carried through, it would still be of great value.

BILL ALBERTSON said consideration must be given to what action will be most effective in bringing victory to the school integration movement and he was not sure a second boycott would be effective. With regard to civil rights organizations involved in the integration issue, ALBERTSON commented he has encountered

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) a wide feeling that the NAACP leadership cannot be the leadership, and that a new leadership is needed. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-5
February 17, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a Peace Club, Kings County CP meeting, on February 17, 1964, it was stated that the CP must move along with integration movement, because this gives the Party a good opportunity to make its members known to the Negro community. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-75
February 27, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Board met on February 17, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) BILL ALBERTSON presented a report on the recent boycott of New York City schools. ALBERTSON said the [redacted] is becoming a national leader; however, organizations like the NAACP want to keep their own image before the people and, therefore, in a power struggle, they are attempting to keep [redacted] from the limelight. ALBERTSON said the civil rights movement is hurt by these actions and, in fact, is weakened instead of being strengthened. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) ALBERTSON went on to state that another similar boycott should be acted upon immediately and it would be important if the impact of this boycott be felt throughout the whole city. Pressure should be put on the Mayor inasmuch as his comments to date have been very weak. ALBERTSON stated the CP's responsibility is to work and build up the second boycott to guarantee its success. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
February 19, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) An executive committee meeting of the Nationalities Club of the CP was held on February 24, 1964, at 540 East 84th Street, New York City. X

(U) At this meeting it was stated that a flyer was being printed which involved the \$1.50 minimum wage law and was to be distributed by members of the Nationalities Club. It was stated the City of New York has enacted this minimum wage law; however, the State of New York has not done so. This flyer will concern a threefold appeal to be made to the public concerning the \$1.50 minimum wage law, civil rights and school integration in New York City. The flyer is to be distributed at various locations in New York City and will urge the recipient to attend a demonstration to be held in Albany, New York, on March 10, 1964, to lobby for these items. X

(U) [NY T-82
February 25, 1964] X

(U) At a meeting of the New York District CP Board held February 24, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City, the situation surrounding school integration in New York City was discussed. X

(U) BOB THOMPSON reviewed this situation noting some progress has been made but there was still a long fight ahead. He said the organizations opposing the school integration plans are well organized and are utilizing all of their talents to defeat the civil rights groups. X

(U) THOMPSON stated there were two demonstrations planned by the civil rights groups on March 12, 1964, one to City Hall and one to the Board of Education. He said these demonstrations must be supported by the CP. X

(U) THOMPSON also stated a March on Albany was scheduled for March 10, 1964, by tenants groups and this also should be supported by the CP. He related the CP can help to carry out ideas in the civil rights protest and X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) further the understandability of integration to a higher level. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
February 26, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Board met on March 2, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) BOB THOMPSON gave a brief report on school integration, which was a review of what has happened in New York City during the past two months. He said the march on the Board of Education the previous day had been very successful. THOMPSON contended, however, the labor movement had not done a good job in the city wide civil rights movement and the CP should try to do something to remedy this situation. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
March 5, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Board met on March 16, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) MIKE DAVIDOW gave a report on civil rights which was generally a review of what has been going on in New York City in regard to school integration and the school boycott. ~~X~~

(U) DAVIDOW stated he felt the feeling of the people at the present time regarding school integration is very good. He said he felt that at the recent school boycott, BEN DAVIS could have gotten on the platform and spoken of the ideas in regard to school integration put forth by the CP. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-5
March 21, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On March 25, 1964, a meeting of the Nationalities Club of the CP was held at 1924 Second Avenue, New York City. The Chairman of the meeting stated that, according to the

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) County officials of the Party, the second school boycott in New York City was not a fizzle or failure. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-82
March 26, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Staff met on April 13, 1964, at New York District CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. The main topics of discussion were the situation in the schools and civil rights generally. ~~X~~

(U) MIKE DAVIDOW stated the opinion and position of the CP, with regard to civil rights, should be set out in a series of articles in "The Worker". He said the Party should make its position clear as well as to point out the need for unity within the civil rights movement. ~~X~~

(U) BILL ALBERTSON felt some of the public officials should be sharply criticized in that public officials have a responsibility to mobilize the white people for democracy. The public officials he referred to were President JOHNSON, Governor ROCKEFELLER of New York and Mayor WAGNER of New York City. He said the importance of white participation in the Negro struggle must be emphasized, the main point being the emphasis of unity within the Negro movement in order to have victory. ~~X~~

(U) stated that while the tactics being taken by the Brooklyn chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) are understandable, tactically, they are a mistake. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) JAMES TORMEY stated essentially the line "The Worker" is taking is correct. He said the Party's position has to be motivated to achieve the greatest possible unity within the Negro peoples movement. He said each period will bring out a new type of tactic and the tactics of the present and the future are going to be far more militant than what has been achieved up to this point. ~~X~~

(U) BOB THOMPSON stated the attitude set forth is basically correct but the Party has to do better than it has

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) been doing in putting forth the argument especially leveled at the white population. He said on the question of tactics, the Party must have a position, not a position of sitting in judgment on tactic, but "we" have to draw the dividing line. He said "our dividing line is the question of individual terrorism and actions that make for that."~~X~~

(U) stated the big problem involved is that most of the white population is getting a one-sided approach to this situation. He felt the trade union movement could play a vital role in educating the trade union people on the question of integration.~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) NY T-5
April 13, 1964~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Committee met on April 11, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City.~~X~~

(U) MIKE DAVIDOW stated that not since the 1930s has there been such a surge on the civil rights and anti-poverty fronts. He said people in the large cities were ready to move and it was hard to hold them back. DAVIDOW stated the CP should take up the fight on poverty and give it leadership.~~X~~

(U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON said the CP should work within all of the movements and would have to figure a way out to advance its own program, and to let the people know what the Party was doing in these fights. He said the people would force a program on the Negro and labor leadership.~~X~~

(U) NY T-101
April 14, 1964~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP School Commission met on April 23, 1964, at 1909 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City. The agenda for this meeting was composed of two points:~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) 1. An analysis of the movement for school integration in New York City. ~~X~~
- (U) 2. A plan for a CP statement on the whole school integration movement. This statement will be issued over the signature of an official of the New York District CP Committee rather than someone on the School Commission. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-36 April 27, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At a Peace Club, Kings County CP meeting, on April 27, 1964, the Club Chairman stated that the CP has been active and will continue to be active in all integration movements because the Party must make it known that it is taking an active role in this struggle. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-75 April 28, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Board met on April 27, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. This meeting was devoted to a report on civil rights. ~~X~~

(U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON reported on a meeting of a subcommittee of the National Negro Commission which took place on April 25, 1964. He said the main topic of the April 25th meeting was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). PATTERSON said it was reported a few comrades were frustrated with the NAACP and were ready to pull out of the NAACP. ~~X~~

(U) PATTERSON stated it appears now that new groups would be formed to carry on the many fronts necessary for a civil rights struggle but there is needed a unity of forces to present a united front of action. The new groups also will bring in new courses for action to advance the struggle. PATTERSON mentioned the stall-ins at the New York World's Fair as one of the new courses of action. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) PATTERSON went on to state the struggle will continue and mentioned labor offers no unity of action for the Negro and the tempo and depth of the struggle must continue. The failure of the stall-ins on roads leading to the World's Fair was mentioned and it was stated a lack of organization was to blame but the action still kept cars off the road. ~~X~~

(U) One proposal mentioned during the meeting was that support should be given to a World's Fair picket who received a year's sentence to jail after being arrested as a picket at the Fair. It was proposed the CP do something to show its support and to rally support to this man, but generally there was a feeling of not knowing what to do to help him. ~~X~~

(U) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated that only the counties of Brooklyn and the Bronx have asked or wanted him to speak on civil rights. He believes it is necessary for all people to have a better understanding of the civil rights issue and to start thinking of remedies for the situation. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-4
April 28, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On April 25, 1964, a meeting of the New York District Negro Commission was held at Bermuda Hall, 402 West 146th Street, New York. Among those who attended this meeting were WILLIAM L. PATTERSON [redacted] who acted as [redacted] and [redacted] WILLIAM PATTERSON acted as Chairman of the meeting and he discussed a National Negro Commission meeting which had been held in Chicago the previous month. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) At this meeting, there was a discussion concerning the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) with [redacted] reporting on a recent election in that chapter. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

From the conversation at the meeting, it appeared that WILLIAM PATTERSON will be the Chairman of the New York District Negro Commission.

(U) [NY T-12
April 30, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) The source furnished a copy of a memo issued by the Negro Commission of the New York District CP "To All Clubs", concerning "Du Bois Youth Club." This memo states as follows: ~~X~~

(U) "1. The fame and contributions of Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois in the world fight against colonialism and racism will live in the minds of men forever. They will, in fact, grow with the years. ~~X~~

(U) "2. It is, however, our responsibility as Americans to extend and deepen that growth within our country. That cannot help but be a force quickening the tempo of the fight for equality of rights and opportunities and also the fight for peace. ~~X~~

(U) "3. Du Bois was a great Negro, an equally great American and a very great human being. His greatness in these categories was strengthened by his quest for objective truth that brought him to Communism. He was a great Communist. ~~X~~

(U) "4. His name will be honored in many ways, but none more important politically, culturally and organizationally than through a nationwide organization of youth clubs among masses, in schools and colleges, as in labor, churches, social clubs - everywhere. ~~X~~

(U) "5. The study of the life of Du Bois can be of inestimable value to Negro youth and American youth of all ethnic and social groups. ~~X~~

(U) "6. The program will be enriched by his books. ~~X~~

"7. Above all else, this study can only lead toward peace and freedom. ~~X~~

(U) "8. Du Bois clubs can be conveyor belts to the most far-sighted and scientifically directed political bodies. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) "9. With steady rise of the Civil Rights Revolutionary struggles, the formation of Du Bois Clubs can become a matter of far-reaching significance. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-90
May 6, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) A meeting of the New York District CP Board was held on May 4, 1964, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, New York City. ~~X~~

(U) JAMES TORMEY presented a short and disappointing report on the civil rights struggle. This report covered mainly the events which have taken place in New York City for the past several months. ~~X~~

(U) TORMEY mentioned there would be civil rights rallies held on May 17 and 18, 1964. He stated the May 17 rally would take place in different boroughs of the city and would primarily be of the nature of people getting together to discuss what is going on and what should be done. ~~X~~

(U) TORMEY related the May 18 rally would be a combined effort of CORE and the NAACP marching on City Hall and then the Board of Education protesting for integration in New York City schools. TORMEY said the CP should support the May 18 rally, but the District Board failed to act on any plans as to what the Party should do. ~~X~~

(U) TORMEY further stated CP members and their friends should protest the treatment given to three Puerto Ricans and one Negro plumber by Local 2 of the Plumbers Union. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-4
May 8, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) On May 11, 1964, a meeting of the New York State Staff and invited guests of the CP, USA was held in CP Headquarters, New York City. During the meeting, JAMES ALLEN, reported on CP publications. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) ALLEN said that the CP literature should be better geared to the times. In this connection, he said more must be written about civil rights demonstrations. ALLEN said that direct sales of their literature must be developed not only to CP clubs and club members, but to civil rights organizations in order to let them know the type of civil rights literature available. ALLEN remarked, "We have heard from several Negro organizations for our book and publications lists." He added, "We have had requests from several CORE groups for our book lists. We must pursue this." X

(U) [NY T-5
May 11, 1964] X

(U) At a Peace Club, Kings County CP meeting on May 13, 1964, it was stated by a CP leader that the growth of the Party or its failure to grow will hinge directly on the unity that the Party develops among civil rights forces and their leaders, the unity between Negro and white, and the unity between the Negro civil rights organization and the labor movement. X

(U) [NY T-12
May 20, 1964] X

(U) A meeting of the Peace Club, Kings County CP, was held on May 19, 1964, at 240 Crown Street, Brooklyn, New York, with WILLIAM L. PATTERSON as the main speaker. X

(U) PATTERSON spoke on the school integration demonstrations which had been held on May 18, 1964, at City Hall and the Board of Education. He stated a liberal estimate of the crowd which took part in these demonstrations was 7,000 people; however, these demonstrations could not exactly be called a success because BAYARD RUSTIN, who organized the demonstrations, publicly had predicted a crowd of 15,000 would demonstrate. PATTERSON stated it was a mistake for RUSTIN to predict the size of the crowd because when that number failed to materialize, the press was given the opportunity to term the demonstration a failure. X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) PATTERSON stated more people would have participated if the [redacted] and JESSE GRAY had cooperated with RUSTIN. PATTERSON stated [redacted] and GRAY failed to cooperate because they had not been included in the early organizational plans for the demonstrations and because [redacted] was not to be given an opportunity to speak or to take a leading role in the demonstrations. According to PATTERSON, [redacted] was requested by RUSTIN on May 15, 1964, to mobilize his people for the demonstrations but when he was advised of his minor role, he stated he would not mobilize his backers. PATTERSON stated GRAY also had been requested by RUSTIN to organize his group for the demonstrations, but he told RUSTIN to "go to hell." ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) PATTERSON stated he had spoken to [redacted] on May 18, 1964, at which time, [redacted] stated that if he had been spoken to by RUSTIN before RUSTIN's press conference on the demonstrations, he would have cooperated. PATTERSON advised [redacted] to leave personalities out of politics because unity and cooperation are of the utmost importance at this time among Negro leaders and between Negroes and Whites. PATTERSON stated he attempted to get [redacted] to cooperate and not to try to run the integration show by himself. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U): PATTERSON stated [redacted] is power happy and likes the "spotlight", that he is not a Communist but he is a man the Party can reach because "we" can sit down with him and talk over ideas. According to PATTERSON, [redacted] will take support from anywhere he can get it. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) PATTERSON stated [redacted] is important because he has the power to mobilize a quarter of a million people. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) NY T-75
May 22, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) At a meeting of the New York District CP Staff held on June 1, 1964, at New York District CP Headquarters, New York City, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON spoke briefly with regard to the racial situation in the Crown Heights Section of Brooklyn. PATTERSON was of the opinion the Party should issue some kind of statement regarding this situation. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) BOB THOMPSON expressed the opinion the draft should be approached from the standpoint of the need for federal and state intervention, possible training and the like. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-5
June 1, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The New York District CP Commission on Schools met in New York City on May 28, 1964. The discussion at this meeting consisted of what was happening in each borough on the school integration fight, the discussion not necessarily limited to CP activity. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-36
June 9, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On June 14, 1964, a meeting of the New York District CP Trade Union Commission was held in New York City. The main report was given by ROBERT THOMPSON on the subject of civil rights who, in this report, made the following observations: ~~X~~

(U) The most important recent development is the growth of old line civil rights groups such as the NAACP, in addition to the growth of new organizations such as CORE and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. The basic question of the Negro revolution must be found and is, in fact, contained within the social, political and educational affairs of the country today. Jim Crow must be ended in the United States. The current Negro revolution has changed the outlook of the political situation in this country, especially in the South. There will be a change of political power if the Civil Rights bill is passed and the Negro given the right to vote in the South because a breakthrough of liberal forces will be made in both the southern Senate representatives and Congressional representatives. ~~X~~

(U) The civil rights struggle should be tied in with other problems. The peace movement and cold war policies should be brought into focus along with the civil rights issue and the drive of capitalism against labor should also be pointed out. These two issues, along with the civil rights issue, should be bound together and a strong presentation made to the American people. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) If labor would place its full force behind the civil rights issue, the future would be a great deal brighter and easier for those taking part. ~~X~~

(U) The Parent and Taxpayers Association in the New York area has grown to be one of the largest anti-liberal reactionary organizations in New York. This organization is anti-Negro and is causing a great deal of concern to liberal groups. Something must be done to combat this menace. ~~X~~

(U) The following are the issues involved in the civil rights struggle:

1. Equality for the American Negro.
2. Breakup of the reactionary coalition comprised of the southern Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans.
3. Elimination of the form of state structure. ~~X~~
4. Elimination of wage differences between the North and South.
5. The possibility of democratic form and change of power structure.

(U) [NY T-4
June 18, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On June 29, 1964, a CP Club meeting was held at 65 Second Avenue, New York City. There were approximately ten individuals in attendance. A night letter was sent to President JOHNSON from a group of his friends from the East Side over the name and address of one of those present at this meeting. This letter urged that forces be sent to Mississippi to assure protection to the Civil Rights workers. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-33
July 2, 1964
NY T-32
July 2, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) At a meeting of the Trade Union Commission, NYD, CP, USA, held in New York City on July 26, 1964, JIM TORMEY delivered the major report. ~~X~~
- (U) Concerning the riots in New York City during July, TORMEY stated that the Police Commissioner of New York City is wrong when he states the riots are not a result of a social problem but are a criminal problem. ~~X~~
- (U) He declared that the job of the CP is to get the civil rights struggle out of Harlem and into the white communities and the labor movement to lessen tensions in Harlem. He stated it would be an error for civil rights groups and labor to lessen demands until after the national elections. The only answer, according to TORMEY, is a militant push by civil rights groups and labor for their demands. ~~X~~
- (U) [NY T-12
July 31, 1964] ~~X~~
- (U) At a meeting of the District Board, NYD, CP, USA, held in New York City on July 27, 1964, a report was given by ROBERT THOMPSON during which he stated that the Party would not and does not work with the extremist groups such as PLM and the Nationalists, but would work with groups such as CORE, NALC and the NAACP. ~~X~~
- (U) [NY T-4
July 28, 1964] ~~X~~
- (U) At a meeting of the West Bronx Club of the Bronx County, New York CP organization held on August 18, 1964, in New York City, a report was delivered on the Negro "revolution" in the United States. ~~X~~
- (U) The report was given by [redacted] who stated that the only way in which the privileged status of the ruling class in the United States could be affected would be through political change. In this connection, he stated that this so-called privileged ruling class has not as yet been affected by racial disorders or disturbances. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) Concerning the Negro "revolution", [redacted] stated that in the true Marxist sense, this movement could not be classified as a revolution. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-9
August 31, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On August 12, 1964, a joint meeting of the Tremont Club and the NAT RICHMAN Club of the Bronx CP was held at the Bronx Cultural Center, 868 East 180th Street. [redacted] spoke at this meeting. In view of the Civil Rights struggle, BEN said that it has been a hot summer so far but there is no guarantee that it will not be a hotter one in the coming months ahead if some of the problems facing our country are not solved soon. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] speaking in regard to the Civil Rights demonstrations, rioting and recent uprisings in the Negro communities of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, Elizabeth and Paterson, called them justified. He added that this is not the last of these uprisings and unless the needs of the Negro around jobs, housing, civil rights are met then more of the same can be expected. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] of Progressive Labor Movement was arrested during one of the demonstrations and that he, [redacted] claimed to be a Communist. BEN mentioned that [redacted] is no longer a Communist since he had been expelled from the Party. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-8
August 21, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) On September 2, 1964, a meeting of the West Side Section of the New York City CP was held, and it was announced by [redacted] that the pro-integration group EQUAL would hold a meeting on September 9, 1964, at the Westend Collegiate Church on West 77th Street, New York City, to discuss the proposed school boycott by the Parents and Taxpayers group. She urged all club members to attend this meeting. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-14
September 10, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~3. Plans As Revealed in Party Publications

"The Worker", March 10, 1963, Page 2, Column 2, contains an article "Benjamin Davis' Negro Unity Plan Greeted at Forums in Los Angeles" in which it is stated that four speakers, including DAVIS, "a spokesman for the CP", addressed two successive meetings held in Los Angeles over the week end of Washington's Birthday. The article described the other speakers as TERRY FRANCOIS, a former president of the San Francisco Chapter of the NAACP, JOHN SHABAZZ, a Minister of the Los Angeles Muslims and the West Coast spokesman for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and F. DANIEL GRAY, a First Vice-President of the Los Angeles Chapter of CORE. The article states that the four speakers agreed that a national unity conference of all Negro organizations was necessary in the fight for civil rights.

The article continues that DAVIS, in his speech, advocated the convening of every Negro organization in the country in a national conference in order to adopt a common program. DAVIS stressed the need for unity and concluded his speech with a plea that such a united front could result in the President issuing a second Emancipation Proclamation by January 1, 1964.

The article attributes the following to DAVIS in his emphasis on the need for unity:

"We (the Communists) defend the right of the Muslims to practice of their religion, their right to advocate a separate independent existence for the Negro people," he said. "Why shouldn't they stand beside us in the fight against the McCarran Act? There are many paths to freedom. We say let history decide the best course while we unite on what we agree upon instead of letting our differences keep us apart."

The article further states that DAVIS' recommendation of united mass action won wide support from the audience.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", March 3, 1963, Page 3, Columns 2-5, contains a statement of the CP, USA, urging the strengthening of the Negro-labor alliance. The final paragraphs of this statement were omitted from this issue but were printed in "The Worker" issue of March 10, 1963, Page 3, Columns 4 and 5. This statement is substantially as follows:

As a result of the successes achieved by the Negro people in their struggle for civil rights, they now are demanding full citizenship and an end to the Jim Crow system and all forms of segregation and discrimination. The Negro people will not accept policies of tokenism and gradualism.

The Negro people are becoming more aware that their demands and struggles are connected with the interests and struggles of all Americans for democracy and social progress. Negroes, especially Negro workers, are coming to realize that they can achieve their objectives only by a common struggle with all the people "against the common enemy out of which the whole system of Jim Crow today stems - the handful of Big Business monopolists".

There are 6 million Negro working men and 1½ million are in trade unions. The Negro people, therefore, understand the role of the trade union movement and what it has achieved for Negro workers as well as its role in the successes achieved by the Negro people in civil rights. Negro leadership in the labor movement and the Negro people's movement is pressing for the end of all discrimination and segregation in the trade unions.

Negro workers are today suffering more than white workers because of automation and unemployment. Negro youth especially face a hopeless situation

- 126 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

as to employment. The big corporations are responsible for this condition of Negro workers and Negro youth and it is these corporations who practice Jim Crow and discrimination. The trade unions must fight for jobs and for equal treatment of Negro workers and youth.

A factor in the strained relations between the trade union movement and the Negro people's movement is that there has been no progress in electing Negro leadership beyond local and intermediate levels. Because of this, Negro leaders and workers have resorted to other means to achieve these rights from employers and trade unions such as using existing laws and groups like the Labor Relations Board.

People can fight for and get legislation and executive orders that will enforce constitutional rights and full citizenship for the Negro people. Discrimination in trade unions has aided the passage of anti-labor legislation. A joint struggle by labor and the Negro people within the trade unions and in Congress for equal rights for Negroes can help defeat new anti-labor legislation now being proposed.

"This is why the CP fully supports proposals by the NALC, the NAACP and other Negro people's organizations for utilizing every and all measures including existing laws to compel all corporations, all employers, all institutions, including the trade unions to grant full and equal rights to the Negro workers. We consider the above policy as a principle and guide for all Communists and we hope it will become the guide for all trade unionists". This is the only way in which to develop an approach whose objective is the unity of Negro and white workers to bring about equal rights for Negro workers.

- 127 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

It is hoped that trade unions will enforce equality within unions on their own without resorting to government agencies and laws.

If the struggle against discrimination "is conducted always with the understanding that the common enemy of all are the Big Business monopolies and that the labor movement with all its weaknesses is the most progressive and democratic force uniting workers of all colors, creeds and political persuasions, in our land, then the outcome will be the strengthening of the labor movement, the Negro people's movement and the Negro-Labor alliance."

"The Worker", February 17, 1963, Page 5, Column 1, contains an article "Towards True Alliance of Negro and Labor" by GEORGE MORRIS. In this article, it is stated that the Negro people will no longer accept gradualism or tokenism in their struggle for civil rights but are demanding full and immediate equality in all fields of life. This force behind the civil rights movement has brought a crisis in the Negro-labor alliance which will continue until the trade union movement changes its policies as regards its Negro members.

The article concludes that a durable Negro-labor alliance is the key issue. "Without a higher level of Negro-labor unity there can hardly be any thought of a real economic advance for the Negro people and the great strength that would add for the labor and progressive movement."

"The Worker", March 24, 1963, Page 6, Columns 3-7, contains the text of a speech given by JAMES JACKSON at the Carnegie Hall celebration of the 39th Anniversary of "The Worker" on March 10, 1963.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

This speech includes the following comments:

Negroes have contributed to the wealth of the country in excess of their proportion to the population. However, most Negroes are still denied equal rights. They are engaged in militant struggles today to secure their rights. Their struggles have been effective and victories achieved.

Conditions exist today for a general victory in the struggle for Negro rights. One third of the world is on the road to socialism. The growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist world has changed the balance of forces to the side of those struggling against oppression. The imperialists who perpetuate colonialism and the monopolists who maintain the Jim Crow system in the United States no longer have the power to control the pace of history.

The tempo of the mass actions of the Negro people must be continued. There must be closer unity among Negro leaders and it must be recognized that anti-Communism is the principal device used against this unity. The militancy of the Negro masses must be matched by the trade unionists and also by a broad group of white people. There must be mass action directed to the government demanding that the President issue now appropriate Executive Orders to enforce the outlawing of discrimination against Negroes in the exercise of their rights. These are the things that are required.

The Negro people will combine their struggle for civil rights with the struggle to abolish colonialism and for friendship with the anti-colonial countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the socialist world. They will stand with those Americans who are joining in the struggle for world peace.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Big business interests are still attempting to secure laws to control and exploit trade unions. The system of segregation and discrimination today serves only those who are trying to exploit labor with new anti-labor laws. In order for the working class to be victorious, the trade union movement must join the struggle to secure the civil rights of Negroes. Securing the rights of Negro people will advance the rights of all working people.

"The Worker", March 5, 1963, page 2. contains an editorial "Bloodshed in Mississippi" in which the shooting of a Negro in Mississippi, who is described as a leader of the Negro people's struggle to win the vote, is blamed on those who profit from segregation, the Southern white-supremacists, "the pro-facist ultra-right" and Republican leaders who plot with the Southern white-supremacists to gain power for the "right wing".

The editorial also criticizes the President and the Attorney General for failure to protect the Negro people of Mississippi with the police and military power of the government. The KENNEDY Administration is accused of "licking the boots of the Southern white-supremacists" in order to consolidate their political power.

The editorial calls for letters to the President urging him to use the government's police and military power.

"The Worker", March 31, 1963, Page 3, contains an editorial "Send the U.S. Marshals", which calls attention to the situation in Mississippi where Negroes are attempting to register and vote. It accuses the KENNEDY Administration of playing "a cruel hoax" on Negro citizens who are attempting to register because it has encouraged this campaign but refused protection

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

to them. It calls for "democratic minded Americans and especially labor" to appeal to the White House to heed the demands of Negro leaders and protect the Negro citizens in Mississippi from racist terror.

The Winter, 1963 issue of "Freedomways" which is Volume 3, Number 1, is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City. The editorial calls for the President to issue a new proclamation to enforce equal rights for Negro Americans.

This issue contains seven articles, a short story, a poem, a section entitled "Readers' Forum" in which there are three short articles, a book review section, a section listing recent books and a section containing information about contributors to this issue.

"The Worker", April 7, 1963, page one, contains an editorial, "Jail The Outlaws of Mississippi". This editorial calls for letters and telegrams to be sent to the President and Attorney General to take action against the "Mississippi racist authorities" who, it states, are waging a "bloody war" against that state's Negro population because they are attempting to register as voters. It calls for the President to declare a state of national emergency in Mississippi; to send Federal police authorities to enforce the rights of the Negro citizens there and for the Attorney General to go to Greenwood and deputize several hundreds of Negro citizens as Deputy United States Marshals to safeguard the lives, liberties and property of the people of Mississippi.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", April 14, 1963, page one, contains an editorial praising WALTER REUTHER, President of the United Automobile Workers, for his appeal for Federal action to protect American citizens in Greenwood, Mississippi. It said that such an example should be emulated throughout every international and local of the labor movement. It called for international and local unions to send contributions of money to aid the Negro struggle in Birmingham, Alabama and Greenwood, Mississippi, and to send mass delegations to these states to take part in solidarity actions with the Negro people.

"The Worker," April 28, 1963, page five, contains an article "May Day Appeal of C.P. Lists People's Demands". This article states in part that labor should erase discrimination in its own ranks against the Negro people and should join in a united fight to advance the conditions of both. It states that labor can advance its own interests only by fighting against job discrimination against Negro workers and for an end to Jim Crow.

"The Worker", May 7, 1963, page one, contains an editorial "What Are You Doing About Birmingham?", which sets out alleged acts of "police barbarism" and states that the heroism of Birmingham "evokes the usage of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising". It states that 80,000 Negroes of Birmingham are demanding an end to the segregation system and full and equal rights of American citizens and that they should be supported.

The editorial calls for action and for demands to be made of the President and Department of Justice to use Federal police power to restore the Constitution and the First Amendment to the people of Birmingham, to safeguard the rights of the Negro people and to obtain the release from prisons of the "victims of the police outrages".

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

This editorial relates that the situation calls for actions such as:

1. Sending telegrams to the President and Attorney General.
2. Requiring Congressmen and Senators to speak out.
3. Organizing protest demonstrations in every community and sending solidarity delegations to Birmingham.
4. Sending money to help the freedom movement of MARTIN LUTHER KING.
5. Having local governments petition the President and Congress to intervene in Birmingham to secure the rights of its Negro citizens.

This same editorial appeared on page 12 of "The Worker", May 12, 1963, as an article by JAMES E. JACKSON.

"The Worker", May 12, 1963, page one, contains a reprint of a telegram which, it is stated, was sent to the President by GUS HALL. In this telegram, HALL states that the President has the responsibility to put into action the full power of the Federal Government to establish the righteous demands of the Negro people in Alabama. HALL further states that the contempt for the Constitution shown by Police Commissioner CONNOR must be condemned and halted. The President is exhorted to take action now and to defeat and arrest the racists.

"The Worker", May 19, 1963, page one, contains an editorial, "A New Charter of Freedom", which states that in May of 1963, the Negro people of Birmingham are writing a new Emancipation Proclamation, a new freedom charter. The victory achieved in breaking the segregation barriers in Birmingham is the beginning of the final struggle for freedom for Negroes in the United States.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

It is stated that, to complete the victory, it is necessary to have unity of Negroes and whites in this country and that the labor movement must assume the leadership to bring this about. "The unity of the American people cannot be achieved except on the foundation of Negro freedom. And the American labor movement is destined, by its place in society, to be the leader in creating this unity."

"The Worker", June 9, 1963, page three, contains an editorial, "A Time For Firmness", which states that the entire segregation and discrimination system must be abolished now. The present struggle of the Negro people demands freedom now and is a challenge to all organizations such as trade unions, churches and schools to examine themselves and to eliminate all discrimination.

The editorial continued that conferences such as the one the President called of businessmen to enlist their cooperation can only serve as preliminary measures for Federal enforcement action.

The Negro people are awaiting the President's message to Congress and his recommendations on civil rights legislation. The key to the coming legislative fight will be the pressure sustained by the people through actions of their organizations and their letters, petitions and delegations to their Congressmen and the White House. In addition, the continued struggles of the Negroes in the South require support in the form of public rallies, the raising of funds and participation in these struggles. There should be also an intensification of pressure on the President and Attorney General to use the powers of their offices to protect the Negro freedom fighters.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", June 23, 1963, page three, in an editorial, "In The South", states that in many parts of the South white supremacists and police are engaged in a "reign of terror" and calls upon the President to take over the enforcement of law in the Southern states. It states that the weapons and police powers of those engaged in the terror must be taken away. It also calls for letters to be sent to the President urging that he order Federal troops and marshals into the South to supersede its lawless police.

A similar editorial appears in "The Worker" of June 25, 1963.

"The Worker", June 23, 1963, page three, contains an article by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, "A United People's Action Program for Freedom Now!" In this article, DAVIS states that the program presented for the destruction of the Jim Crow system in the United States "is based upon a report unanimously adopted at a recent national gathering of Communist leaders". He states that the proposals set forth are based upon a constitutional path to equal rights which path is "possible only through direct, mass, peaceful action pursued through the unity of the Negro people and their organizations" plus the support of white allies beginning with organized labor.

The proposals of DAVIS' program are as follows:

1. The enforcement of Article 4 of the Constitution guaranteeing a republican form of government to each state.
2. In such states as Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina, where the governments are illegal because of the disenfranchisement of its citizens, the governments should be declared illegal and free elections held.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

3. The withholding of Federal funds from states which deny Constitutional rights to citizens.

4. A petition to the Supreme Court to set a time limit of January 1, 1964 for compliance with its 1954 decision on the desegregation of public schools and all subsequent decisions bearing on desegregation.

5. The Federal government should exercise the right of eminent domain to eliminate ghettos.

6. The passage of a Federal FEPC applying to private industry calling for the loss of license of any business practicing segregation or discrimination in employment or among its customers, and the decertification of any union practicing discrimination.

7. The President should issue a second Emancipation Proclamation with January 1, 1964 as a deadline.

DAVIS also states that pressure should be brought upon the President to end the terror against Negro citizens in the South and if necessary, he should federalize the State National Guards. In Jackson, Mississippi, the President should declare a state of martial law to protect the Constitutional rights of Negro citizens. In addition, the white citizens councils and the Ku Klux Klan should be outlawed.

The Spring, 1963 issue of "Freedomways", which is volume three, number two, is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement", published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City. This issue contains twelve articles, a short story, four poems, a book review section, a section listing recent books and a section containing information about

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

contributors to this issue. Of the twelve articles, three are set forth under the heading of "The Assault On Civil Rights" and one of the contributors to this symposium is BENJAMIN J. DAVIS who contributed an article "Mc Carran Act and the Negro Freedom Movement". In the section detailing information about contributors, DAVIS is described as a former New York City Councilman from Harlem and as "a leading spokesman for the Communist viewpoint".

"Political Affairs", August, 1963, contains an article, "The Time is Now" by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS which is identified as being based upon a report discussed and adopted at a national meeting of Communist leaders in May, 1963.

This article states in part as follows:

The Negro freedom movement has entered a new stage in that the fight now is against tokenism and gradualism, factors which are being used to delay and prevent the full realization of Constitutional rights for Negroes.

The Dixiecrats, the ultra-Right fascists and the white supremacists are responsible for the violence, bloodshed and the explosive situation that exists in the country today.

There is a Constitutional and moral crisis in the country which would not exist if the Federal power was used to break the resistance of racists and reactionary officials. This crisis is aggravated by unemployment, with Negroes having the highest percentage of unemployed. Because of this crisis, "our country is paying the price of the 18-year Cold War...which has psychologized the American people to the effect that the enemy of the national interest was a foreign Communist one, allegedly the Soviet Union".

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The President's leadership has failed to identify the real enemy. These are the monopolists, the pro-Fascist racists and other reactionary forces. The defeat of these pro-fascist reactionaries is the most urgent domestic challenge to the welfare of the nation. The President should issue a call to the people to defeat them. This is the concern of all Americans, not Negroes alone.

The unity of Negroes and of Negroes and whites should be built to such strength that their combined pressure will be irresistible in resolving the crisis facing the country.

There has been a favorable shift in the world balance of forces, marked by the emergence of the world socialist system and the collapse of the colonial system, which makes it possible now to achieve changes under the capitalist system.

Birmingham has brought a turning point in the struggle of the Negro people. They are demanding their Constitutional rights now. Prior to Birmingham, Negroes were united on the goals of the struggle to end Jim Crow but not on the methods. Now they are united on the methods to be used. They have adopted the method of non-violence, and peaceful direct action.

The South is the new frontier. The negro struggle there is for the good of the whole country. This struggle has opened the possibility of the "democratization of the South". The South is the new frontier for the extension of democracy in this country but it can only occur with the victory of the civil rights revolution. Discrimination and Segregation can be ended only by the defeat of the "Dixiecrat racists and their reactionary Republican abettors". The Administration has the power through enforcement of Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution to oust illegally elected Dixiecrat regimes in the South.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Communist Party greets with boundless joy the present revolutionary freedom movement of the Negro people and will spare no sacrifice to help bring about its total victory now...and to immediately resolve the acute constitutional and moral crisis facing the nation. It is because the Communists have a proud record of disciplined, responsible and militant struggle for Negro rights that they have been honored as the first victims of the Mc Carran Act, as they were of the Smith Act".

Governor Barnett of Mississippi has charged that the CP controls the Negro people's civil rights organizations and decides its policies. "This is a typical Hitler big lie. The CP has no desire to control or dominate any organizations, and it is ridiculous to imagine that the leaders of the Negro people's organizations and their supporters, would submit to dictation from the CP or anyone else.

.....

"The advantage of being a Communist is that one learns that the workers and common people can master the social forces that determine victory or defeat.

"Quite independently of each other, there is a wide area of agreement between the CP and the Negro freedom movement on programs, aims and tactics. This is not because one controls the other.

"Nor is it remarkable that the policy of our Party should coincide with the aspirations of the Negro freedom movement. This is rather a tribute to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory applied to the unique attributes of our country, and to the sound policies of our Party adopted at its 17th National Convention in December, 1959".

The program of the Negro freedom movement is a common one to abolish Jim Crow supported by persons of all political beliefs including Communists. "Communists

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

believe that the 'freedom now'; aims of the program answer the pressing democratic needs of the Negro people and of the nation in serious crisis; and Communists hold that this is the central domestic issue before the country. At the same time Communists believe the achievement of this program will lay an indispensable basis not only for the future social progress of the country but for its socialist and communist future when United States imperialism, with its inevitable breeding of racism, discrimination, wars and insecurity will be no more. Communists see the struggle for socialism as a struggle to extend the horizons of democracy.

.....

"The Party in this struggle has the duty not only to work with modesty, self-sacrifice, militancy and responsibility. It has the deep obligation to the cause of freedom and equality now-to the national advance of our country-to strengthen its unity, and to build its organization and influence. Trained in the science of Marxism-Leninism, its experience and contributions are needed in overcoming the big and complex problems that confront the democratic forces and the nation.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"Political Affairs", November, 1963, contains an article by JAMES JACKSON "Democratic Uprising of the American Negroes". In this article, JACKSON, commenting on the present struggle of Negroes in the United States, notes that the struggle has been undertaken at a time when the new world relation of forces provides a favorable climate and when great advances have been made by the people of Africa and Asia and by Cuba in throwing off colonialism, all of which has given stimulus to the Negro people. He adds that there is also a growing awareness of a "great country-the Soviet Union" whose success in securing full equality to its many peoples is a "challenging alternative to the prevailing racist patterns in the US".

JACKSON notes that the struggle of Negro Americans to secure equal rights attained nationwide significance with the civil rights demonstrations led by MARTIN LUTHER KING in Birmingham, Alabama, in May, 1963. He said that since that time the struggle of the Negro people has dominated the political and social scene in the United States and has gained momentum and militancy. The article also notes that the Negro movement has gained the support of many groups and organizations such as church organizations and white high school and college students. The trade union movement also has been stirred to action and the Federal Government has been compelled to act to uphold rights of Negro citizens.

The article concludes with the following under the subheading "The Communists' Approach."

"From its earliest days the Communist Party of the United States has given major attention to the struggle for the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. It has done so not only because the racist oppression of the Negro people

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"in the United States was itself a shameful violation of the dignity of human beings, but also because the racist proscription of the Negro people stood athwart the path of social progress of the class and the nation.

"At its Sixteenth Convention in 1957, the Communist Party clearly pointed out that the main line of march of the Negro people's movement was that of opposition to all forms of separatist "solutions" to the question of their oppression and toward full and complete integration in the life of the nation. It estimated the significance of the Negro question then as being "the crucial domestic issue of the day" (Political Affairs, March 1957, pages 31-42), the struggle for the solution of which would accelerate social progress along the whole anti-monopoly front.

"Events have fully confirmed the major theoretical and programmatic resolution on the Negro question which our Party adopted at its Seventeenth Convention in December, 1959. In this resolution we stated:

". . . The main unrealized task of bourgeois (capitalist) democracy in the United States is revealed in the special oppression of the Negro people. The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered. All signs point to an early and triumphant resolution of the century-old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship. . . . Victory on this sector would open the way to rapid developments along the advancement of the entire nation.

"In the current stage of the massive movement our Party has given full support to the broadly based united front of the Negro people's organizations which gives leadership to the direct actions of the Negro people's rising against segregation and for full

- 142 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"equality. Our Party fosters the widest unity of action of the broad political spectrum of participating organizations and leaders which make up a Negro freedom front. Our Party promotes white masses-labor, the youth, peace forces and religious people-in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. At the same time, our Party exposes the diversionists, adventurists, provocateurs, and opponents of Negro-white unity who seek to poach upon and disrupt the Negro people's freedom movement.

"Through the victorious development of the Negro people's freedom struggle the Party perceives the re- invigoration of the whole front of social action and struggle for new levels of social progress in our country. As GUS HALL put it:

"The removal of the cesspool of racism with its practices of discrimination in the South will also eliminate one of the main sources of ideological contamination of our people. Racism and white chauvinism have stunted the growth of class consciousness and working class ideology in general. They remain among the most effective weapons in the hands of the employers for diverting the rise of class unity, class consciousness and militancy.... Victory in the South will enable the healthy ideology of the working class to take its rightful place in our midst...."

"And he added:

" ' The struggles (of the Negro people) in the South to rid our land of the shackles of new strength to all our democratic institutions. They are broadening the popular base of democracy in our land. They are cleansing the political and social atmosphere of our country. '

"The Negro people in the United States are today in all-out battle to secure victory for themselves, for the working class, and for the nation. This great democratic struggle will remove the main roadblock to the renewal of the advance of the working class along the road of social progress in our nation."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"Political Affairs", December, 1963, contains an article by GUS HALL, "Objective Conditions and the Work of the Party". A section of this article bears the sub-caption "The Civil Rights Revolution" and contains, in part, the following, in summary:

The upsurge of the civil rights movement, which is demanding "Freedom Now", has brought into active participation the greatest number of people in this country's history. The civil rights movement is primarily a movement "on the streets" with demonstrations taking many forms. There are many levels to the movement involving different forces with each force complementing the other.

The outlook of the movement is significant and noteworthy because there has been an absence of "redbaiting" and this "reflects an acceptance of our policies by the masses and testifies to the correctness of our policies".

As regards the participation of Socialists in the Negro upsurge, "what is most important is that, to the degree that Socialists have cut down on red-baiting, there has been a greater acceptance of the socialist viewpoint in a basic sense, so essential to any solution of the Negro question and the advancement of democracy in our land."

The civil rights movement has resulted in many forms of independent political action because of the voter registration and right-to-vote campaigns.

The upsurge in the Negro movement provides an excellent opportunity for the campaign to organize the unorganized workers in the South. Such an organization could eliminate the wage differential and the run-away shop and, therefore, every worker has a stake in this movement.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Today, the Negro struggle is a part of the general democratic movement directed against monopoly capital "...its relationship to the totality of democratic forces in this country is a question of vital importance both for the victory of the Negro liberation movement itself and for the general extension of democracy."

The Negro revolution will not be successful without the participation of the rest of the American people. However, gaining participation by white Americans is a difficult task. The task is to get a section of white Americans to participate, neutralize those in opposition, and to keep the hard-core opposition to a minimum. These three objectives should be fought for. An important factor to gain the participation of the white population in the struggle is the economic and political self-interest of this population. "We must give more thought to this aspect, for this is our special contribution to the advancement of the struggle."

If the cold war is ended, the government could use the "war budget" for job-creating programs. The fight to end discrimination could be related to such a program of jobs. This outlook leads to unity and "unites the self-interests of the different groups behind the democratic revolution".

The civil rights movement faces the problem of how to move forward. To do this, demonstrations must be continued and "those forces who want to get this movement off the streets must be defeated". A second task is to strengthen the unity of the movement. Unity of the Negroes, Negro and white and of the Negro movement with labor is essential. Another task "is the necessity of breaking the 'states rights' reactionary clique, which stands as a roadblock to all progress."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", October 6, 1963, in its editorial "An Outrageous Farce", comments on recent civil rights events in Birmingham, Alabama, Cambridge, Maryland and Orangeburg, South Carolina, and states that it is obvious that the racists who control law enforcement in Alabama and the other Southern states will do nothing to protect the lives and property of Negro citizens. The editorial requests its readers to write to the President requesting that he send Federal troops to Alabama and other southern states, to remove from office all officials who are derelict in upholding the Constitution, to prosecute those responsible for the "reign of terror" in the Southern states, and to prepare the way for fair elections in these states.

"The Worker" in its issues of October 13, 22, 27 and 29, 1963, contained editorials dealing with the strengthened civil rights bill recommended by the House Judiciary Committee and the fact that it was in danger of being "watered down". These editorials attacked the Attorney General "for helping the Republicans and Southern racists sabotage meaningful civil rights legislation" and called for communications to be sent to him urging him to back and to mobilize support for the civil rights bill approved by the committee. The editorials also called for letters to be written to Congressmen demanding that they support a strong civil rights bill and for readers to call on their Congressman, or their representatives, when they return to their homes on week ends, urging support of a meaningful civil rights bill.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker" in its issue of November 5, 1963, contains an editorial commenting on the "watered down" civil rights bill which it states the President and Attorney General "forced out" of the House Judiciary Committee against the will of the majority. It reflects that a meaningful bill can be passed at the current session of Congress but will require increased activity. It continues that two objectives are to force the House Rules Committee to get the civil rights bill to the floor of the House and to strengthen it after it gets to the House floor.

It calls for letters and delegations to each Congressman and strong lobbies in Washington to make House members realize a strong civil rights bill is wanted in the current session of Congress.

"The Worker" in an editorial on page 1 of the November 19, 1963, issue, captioned "Renew the Offensive", states that the segregationists and their apologists are trying to avoid the passage of an effective civil rights act. The editorial criticizes the President for vacillating and retreating on civil rights legislation and calls for the people to intensify their pressure on the administration to fulfill its commitment to secure a genuine civil rights law.

It adds that the Thanksgiving recess provides an excellent opportunity, since Congressmen return to their home districts, for civil rights forces to register their demands that every Congressman and Senator act for a strengthened civil rights bill now.

The editorial also calls for a "massive nationwide action" by all the forces of the Negro revolution in the form of a "nationwide Freedom Now holiday and work stoppage" as a warning against further delay on civil rights legislation.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Fall, 1963 issue of the magazine "Freedomways" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York, New York, contains seven articles, several poems and pencil sketches, as well as a section devoted to Book Reviews and a section devoted to recent books. This issue announced that the next issue of the magazine will be an All-Southern issue containing articles from writers, artists and freedom fighters from the South.

"The Worker", January 12, 1964, contains an editorial by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS "A Hard Necessity" in which he advocates support for the mass boycott of the New York City public schools scheduled for February 3, 1964. He describes the boycott as "a hard necessity" and as "a form of struggle for masses of people who seek to uphold the law of the land" and to correct the segregated character of the public schools.

"The Worker", January 28, 1964, on its editorial page, calls attention to the boycott of the public schools scheduled for February 3, 1964, and states that it will have the active support of all who want public school education to be democratic in content and non-racist in form.

"The Worker", February 18, 1964, in an editorial on page two, praises the Reverend MILTON GALAMISON for his leadership in the "Great February 3rd School Boycott" of the public schools in New York City and states that the secret of his success was his skill in unifying the diverse organizations which participated. It states, "The unity achieved within the Negro community and the bonds of fraternal cooperation established with the Puerto Rican and progressive white communities are important achievements of the School Boycott movements. This unity should be defended against all forces seeking to disrupt it."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The February 18, 1964, issue of "The Worker", page three, contains an article, "The School Boycott" by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, in which he comments on the February 3, 1964 school boycott in New York City. He described it as marking "a new high in terms of unity in the battle for a free America" and said that it demonstrated an understanding of the responsibility of youth of the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954. He said those participating in the boycotts are demanding that this decision be implemented now in New York.

PATTERSON said:

"The youth of New York have done their country an invaluable service in this boycott. It has set an example of action that should be followed in every city. ... This unity forged in struggle can have other and more far - reaching political goals."

"This boycott helped clarify the political atmosphere. It brought a new appreciation of the power of unity in struggle..."

"The Worker", March 3, 1964, page one, contains a denunciation by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON of the sentence of 16 to 20 years given to Mrs. MAE MALLORY in Monroe, North Carolina on charges of kidnapping a white couple on August 27, 1961. He describes Mrs. MALLORY as a "defender of the constitution, fighter for equality of rights and opportunities" and states that the major issue is the right of a Negro American to defend her life when threatened by death by white supremacists. He said the charge against Mrs. MALLORY "is a new approach to 'legal' racist terror" and that her crime is that she was born black."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PATTERSON further states:

"To win democracy in the United States, the fight for MAE MALLORY's freedom must be raised to its highest level, nationally and internationally. The decision and judgment have been appealed. The march of these freedom fighters to the highest court in the land is on. It is, however, the people's fight. The case can be reversed in the state supreme court. It cannot be won without a militant movement...

"The decision and judgment in the MALLORY case are symbols of a way of life that must be smashed if democracy is to mean equality of rights and opportunities."

"The Worker", January 5, 1964, page three, sets forth the second of two articles based upon a report "recently delivered" by GUS HALL on problems facing the nation and the tasks and opportunities facing the workingclass and people's forces in 1964. In this article by HALL, he mentions three areas of concern, namely, the new Administration, the 1964 elections, and civil rights. In commenting on civil rights, he states that this revolution "has become the central area in the struggle for a democratic America". HALL remarks that terror and brutality have increased in the South, that racists have become bolder than ever and that a campaign has been launched in the North, mainly by the big magazines, whose aim in calling for "reasonableness" is to slow down the struggle and split the movement. Another factor in the attack on civil rights forces is the charge being made that it is not the Negro people or the leaders who are responsible for the "unreasonableness" but "outsiders" which means "the Communists and the Left".

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

HALL continues in his treatment of the civil rights struggle with the following observations:

The source of power of the Negro people's struggle has been the role of the masses "and we should never forget that it is the source of the power and strength of all people's movements and struggles". However, this source cannot be taken for granted and it cannot be left on its own. The rank and file have not been involved in a more organized manner. "This is a challenge we can be more helpful in resolving both on city and community levels." The educational campaign against racism must be continued and improved.

"The greatest challenge" is how to organize a struggle on the economic front where there is job discrimination against Negroes, where the problem of jobs for Negroes has become linked with growing unemployment. There must be a united working class, white workers must be shown that the trade unions can gain the support of all workers only if they take up the problem arising from discrimination.

In the future the struggle will proceed on three levels:

1. An all - out effort to get passage of the Civil Rights Bill.
2. Organized struggle for specific objectives including such actions as the fight on housing and rents in Harlem, on hiring at Motorola in Chicago, and on school desegregation. "This kind of struggle takes initiative, planning and organization. Is this not the area of challenge in which we can make a unique contribution? I think it is?"
3. The continuing struggle in the South where the greatest obstacle is the "reign of terror".

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"If we could launch a national and an international campaign against this brutality we could make a signal contribution to the freeing of the South...A second aspect of the struggle in the South in which we can be helpful is the development of a dialogue between the trade unions and the freedom movement in the South."

"The civil rights front is that on which the main battles are being fought today. It must at all times receive our top attention."

"The Worker", February 9, 1964, page one, contains an editorial on Negro History Week for 1964 which states that it is a time for rededication to the battle for civil rights. It comments on the militant demonstrations that have taken place since Negro History Week, 1963, and the fact that the Civil Rights Bill is before Congress. It calls for support of the Bill and "mass action" to overcome the filibuster that the Bill is expected to face in the Senate.

It adds that there is little doubt there will be more demonstrations directed at the Senate to enact the Bill into law without crippling amendments. It notes that in February, 1964, there was a boycott of the largest public school system in the Nation, New York City, in which unity was achieved between different Negro organizations, and an alliance formed with Puerto Rican groups. It cites the fact that, at this time, a large rent strike was spreading through the Negro, Puerto Rican and poor white areas. It adds that a sit-in strike was staged in Chicago in a demand for jobs with a living wage. The editorial continues, "This struggle of the unemployed for livelihood will merge with the already unfolding social strikes, against discrimination in housing, education and for equal accommodations in public services. It will bring a new current of power to the common cause of Negro freedom and the social progress of all Americans."

- 152 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", March 15, 1964, in its editorial on page three, calls for maximum pressure on Senators to pass the Civil Rights Bill. It states: "Letters, mass telegrams, demonstrations, marches, rallies, civil disobedience, nationally organized work holidays and school holidays - every popular method of protest must be brought against the filibuster for the enactment of the Civil Rights Bill."

"The Worker", March 29, 1964, page three, in an editorial "Jacksonville Requires Federal Trusteeship", comments on recent incidences of violence resulting from recent civil rights conflicts in Jacksonville, Florida. It states that "The situation in Jacksonville (not unlike a dozen other spots in the unregenerate segregationist South) attests to the fact that the police and city's officialdom have gone over to the position of the racist mobsters, that the deprivation, degradation and segregation of Negro citizens has become a policy and prime purpose of the local government authority."

This editorial calls for the Federal Government to establish a Federal trusteeship over Jacksonville until new elections can be held, for the Justice Department to send Federal Marshals and for the President to be prepared to send in Federal troops to uphold the rights of the Negroes. A call is also made for action demanding an end to the filibuster in the Senate and the passage of the Civil Rights Bill without weakening amendments.

The Winter, 1964 issue of "Freedomways", which is published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, is self-identified as being a special issue concerned with "the southern freedom movement". In an editorial

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

in this issue, it is stated that the issue deals with developments on the southern "battle front". It adds that they had promised their readers that the current issue "would represent the most comprehensive coverage of the Freedom Movement in the South ever to appear in a single issue of an American magazine.

This editorial also states "many activists in the Freedom Movement, among them many of our readers, are keenly aware of the need for some instrument of communication and exchange of information by the various sections of the movement, stretched across the South. 'Freedomways' format combines first-hand description of events with insight and analysis."

"The Worker," May 24, 1964, page 1, sets forth the contents of a telegram which, it is said, was sent to the President that week by GUS HALL and BENJAMIN DAVIS, "spokesmen for the CP." The telegram condemned the delay in passage of the civil rights bill by the Senate and called upon the President to issue a declaration in support of the bill as passed by the House "with abandonment of all subsequent deals, and pressing for its immediate enactment by ending the filibuster..."

"The Worker," April 21, 1964, page 1, contains an editorial by JAMES E. JACKSON, "Negroes Ask Liberals for Their Cooperation, Not Permission." This editorial states that Negroes are asking cooperation from Americans in their freedom struggle not permission to fight it. The editorial attacks those who criticized the called for stall-in action at the opening of the World's Fair in New York City and defended this action and even a general work stoppage in the country if it is necessary to secure civil rights for Negroes. It closes with a wish for success to the World's Fair stall-in.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker," May 5, 1964, page 2, in an editorial "A Call to Rights Action" appeals to the readers and friends of "The Worker" to increase their efforts to gain passage of the civil rights bill. It calls for them to organize with letters, telegrams, phone calls, and petitions calling upon the Senate to act and to help organize meetings, demonstrations, and picket lines.

"The Worker," May 17, 1964, page 3, in its editorial, comments on the importance of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, which desegregated public schools. It states that the importance of this decision is that it was the first significant action taken by a branch of the government for civil rights since 1896 and that following this decision the Negro freedom movement began to grow. The editorial adds:

"The great Negro and white 'coalition of conscience' taking shape around the struggle to bring about an end to segregation and discrimination against the Negro people is the very 'coalition for progress' in the war against poverty, for peace and for expansion of democracy which best serves the national interest."

It notes that desegregation of the schools has gone on at a "snail's pace of less than one percent per year." It states that the tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision will be marked by an increase in activity in the struggle against discrimination and that there is no better focal point than the Senate where the filibuster against the civil right bill was then taking place.

"The Worker," June 14, 1964, page 1, contains an editorial, "Concern of All Americans," which urges all readers of the paper to call on the President to intervene in Alabama to protect the Negro people there. It asks the readers to urge their union locals, churches,

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

and civic groups to make appeals to the President for federal action in Alabama.

"The Worker," June 28, 1964, page 1, contains an editorial, "Halt the Terror in Mississippi," which comments on the disappearance of MICHAEL SCHWERNER, ANDREW GOODMAN, and JAMES E. CHENEY in Mississippi. It states that Mississippi is in a state of insurrection and that "Mississippi's racist officials, like those of Florida, Alabama and other Southern states are plotting with brutal subhumans to violate the law of the land with rifle, bomb and flame."

It states that the guilt for the "terror" that engulfed these three persons lies with Governor WALLACE of Alabama, Governor JOHNSON of Mississippi and Governor BRYANT of Florida; with Senator GOLDWATER "who incited these white supremacists to violence" with his speech on the civil rights bill; with GOLDWATER's friends in the ultra-right; with the Justice Department which failed to provide safety for young American patriots and with the President because of his vacillation and hesitation.

The editorial calls for every American to urge the President to immediately send into Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and any other "rebellious" Southern state, all the federal forces necessary to guarantee the safety of citizens in exercising their Constitutional rights.

"The Worker," June 30, 1964, in an editorial, "Put Mississippi Under U.S. Rule," accuses the state of Mississippi of being in revolt against Constitutional government and of violation of the Constitutional liberties and rights of Negro citizens and white Americans who grant Negroes equal rights. It states that Mississippi has placed itself outside the state - federal relationship of the Constitution and the conduct of the state requires that the President invoke Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution and place Mississippi under full federal stewardship.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", issue of January 7, 1964, page 4, contained an article entitled, "A Plan to Achieve Integration in Our Schools and Eliminate Ghetto Standards in Education". This article reflects it is presented as a public service by the New York District of the Communist Party and sets forth part of a program devised by the New York District to eliminate segregation in education. This article sets forth the current conditions in education in the New York City school system as well as presenting a plan to improve all aspects of education.

"The Worker", issue of February 4, 1964, page 8, contained an article captioned, "CP Insists Wagner, Rocky Act at Once". This article reflects that ROBERT THOMPSON and WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, spokesmen for the New York State CP, had sent a letter to Mayor ROBERT F. WAGNER and Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER with regard to the February 3, 1964, school boycott in New York City. The letter states the boycott is a mandate of the people for action and states that in New York City the time for token integration plans is past.

The letter reflects these officials have in their possession the New York State CP program for effective, speedy integration as published in "The Worker" on January 7, 1964. The letter calls for immediate action by New York State to bring about speedy, effective integration as demanded by the people.

"The Worker", issue of March 15, 1964, page 3, contained an article entitled, "1,500 at Rally Celebrate Worker's 40th Anniversary".

This article contains a summary of statements made at the 40th Anniversary celebration of "The Worker" held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on March 12, 1964.

According to the article, JAMES E. JACKSON called for the immediate passage of the civil rights bill which is being threatened with a Southern filibuster.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~
He said "The Worker" supports the March 16th boycott of New York City schools as well as the rent strikes by tenants "living in rat-infested hell holes".

JACKSON further called for an all out war on poverty and welcomed President JOHNSON's declaration on poverty, but stated the money proposed to fight poverty was inadequate. He said, "If capitalism does not abolish mass poverty, the impoverished masses will abolish capitalism".

~~SECRET~~

"Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement", published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, at 799 Broadway, New York City. It lists its Editorial Board members as being:

W. ALPHAEUS HUNTON, Associate Editor
JOHN HENRIK CLARKE, Associate Editor
MARGARET G. BURROUGHS and JOHN L. DEVINE, Art Editors
ESTHER JACKSON, Managing Editor
SHIRLEY GRAHAM, Contributing Editor

~~SECRET~~

The summer, 1963 issue of the magazine was a special issue devoted to "Harlem, A Community in Transition". The editorial of this issue states that "The Harlems of the north and west are joining the new democratic revolution which was born of the southern Negroes" desegregation battles. This revolution for long-deferred equal rights has linked the Negroes of Birmingham to those of Philadelphia, of Boston, of St. Louis, of Cambridge, Maryland, of Harlem, New York, in one irrepressible marching column that is determined to secure a new birth of freedom here and now".

This editorial states that the prospects for victory for Negroes in achieving equal rights seems close at hand, but that there are many battles ahead. What is needed is unity of action. It adds "We need the full strength of our people and our allies in militant sustained action to insure the victory".

"Out of our sorrows, our unrequited want and hunger, out of our struggles and dreams, a rich growth of beautiful and meaningful artistic and literary creation has come. Trenchant analysis and social criticism, humor and poetry have been born."

"We believe that a rich representation of all this has been collected here between the covers of this special Harlem edition of 'Freedomways'. We hope that each of you who reads this issue will become a booster and salesman for other copies and for securing subscribers to our unique and vital publication - 'Freedomways'".

~~SECRET~~

(U) JAMES JACKSON commented on the publication "Freedomways" during October, 1963, and noted that [redacted] was giving them a lift with this publication.

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~NY T-19
October 9, 1963~~

(U) [redacted] stated on January 15, 1964, that he was a member of the Editorial Board of "Freedomways".

b6
b7C

(U)

~~NY T-191
January 15, 1964~~

The spring, 1964 issue of the magazine, in its editorial, attacks the indictment against leaders of the Albany, Georgia movement, announced by the office of the Attorney General, as "one of the crudest cases of injustice and sheer racism ever to be attempted by an agency of the Federal Government". It charges that efforts by the Justice Department to prosecute these leaders "seems to be part of a political deal between the Administration and the powerful RUSSELL-SALMADGE machine in Georgia". It accuses the office of the Attorney General as "becoming a sort of clearing house through which a policy of accomodation between the Administration and the southern segregationists is being worked out". The editorial concludes with an appeal to its readers to send letters and telegrams to the Attorney General asking that the convictions be set aside and the indictments dropped.

The summer, 1964 issue of "Freedomways" is a special issue devoted to "The People of the Caribbean Area". In the editorial of this issue, it is stated that the "staff of 'Freedomways' continues its in-depth inquiry into those resurgent areas of the world where people of African descent are forging a new birth of freedom". It also states that, "Today the problems of the Caribbean people are uniquely related to the problems of the African people and of Negro Americans. Common to each is their fight for freedom, for justice and the dignity of full manhood. There is a wide community of interests among these people of African descent. In our times all are arrayed against the yoke of racism and colonialism and for freedom from all manner of oppression.

~~SECRET~~

"Our goal in publishing this issue is to dispel a lot of misinformation and contribute to an understanding of the history, culture and development of the Caribbean people..."

~~SECRET~~

(U) The source made available a copy of the Statement of Ownership filed on October 1, 1964, and this statement shows that [redacted] and [redacted] are stockholders in the corporation, Freedomways Associates, Incorporated. It reflects further that the average number of copies of each issues distributed during the preceeding twelve months was 7,450 and that the paid circulation of each issue during the same period was 4,000. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-250
October 18, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) The source made available information reflecting that in February, 1964, [redacted] stated that "Freedomways" publishes 8000 copies of its regular issues and 10,000 of its special issues of which there are two each year. CLARKE said the magazine is distributed in bookstores and on some newsstands in the United States and abroad, and that they have about 3000 subscriptions. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-250
April 5, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

~~SECRET~~

1. Plans and Strategy of the PLM
As Set Forth in the PLM
National Strategic Program
and Statement of MILTON ROSEN,
PLM National Chairman

The PLM National Strategic Program sets forth that one of the immediate goals of the PLM is to place the Movement politically in a position to lead the masses of people in every significant area of struggle both directly through its own voice and together with united front voices. However, the Movement must be able to organize masses of working people into its ranks and lay the basis to build a new workers state.

The PLM National Strategic Program also sets forth that a negro liberation movement must be developed as "the black people in this country will not wait for white workers to get wise before they move; they are moving already; they constitute an oppressed colonial people; our role must be to help launch and participate in a political movement of black workers and sharecroppers in control of their own communities for political power. This movement in time may coincide with the general class struggle as the mass of white workers take all the cudgels against the common exploiter.

"This movement could be aimed at isolating and destroying the South fascists, explore their links to the Northern monopolies and the Federal Government thus exposing the phony 'moderates' as they will undoubtedly come to the aid of their Dixiecrat friends when push comes to shove.

"This movement must be based on new forces of organization ~~which~~ are based on the masses of negroes in the South. This means those civil rights groups now

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

working which have a base among the negro masses should be encouraged to organize them into membership organizations. It means that whenever possible and nothing else exists new membership organizations should be formed i.e. Womens League, Youth Action Committee etc., we must be flexible about the forms.....

"Finally, this means councils for community control or call it what you like, composed of representatives of negro mass organizations and also of representatives of our party, who will of course, be among the leadership of the mass organizations anyway in many cases.

"These councils would map out plans to control their own areas. To seek political power but not through existing state structure (although the tactic of running candidates may be used when useful), but through assuming control of the community's housing problems (rent strikes), police problems (armed self-defense organization), legal problems (peoples courts), job problems (a general strike of black workers in the area), education (revolutionary schools) etc.

"..... however, it is clear that black Americans especially in the South are ready for independent racial activity aimed at political power. It is clear moreover that non-violence will not achieve that and the majority of negro people (as the majority of all people, incidentally) will fight back when attacked.

"A few of the preliminary steps we must take towards setting up these councils are:

"Develop a South-wide freedom paper, in which we participate; assign new forces to work in the South; determine the areas of concentration within the South; maintain the open PLM activity, which we have begun in the South."

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The PLM National Strategic Program also sets forth a proposal to develop a racial movement for workers control of communities in big cities.

This proposal is based primarily on the work of PLM neighborhood groups in New York City.

The proposal as set forth states "we must build on rent strikes, the struggle against police brutality, the school boycotts etc., to raise the consciousness of the working class communities, to show people the ultimate solution lies in their own control of their neighborhoods particularly, control of housing, schools and police. At the same time, the rent strikes gave us an opportunity to show people the value of collective action and the cooperative spirit in the communities, by forming independent committees working with PL or joining PLM directly."

The proposal also set forth that "the committees and PL should see about starting up neighborhood defense organizations to protect the people in the neighborhood from the cops."

(U)

NY T-272
March 23, 1964

On the evening of July 30, 1964, a PLM meeting was held at 210-212 East 17th Street, New York City. [redacted] of the PLM conducted the meeting and discussed the political situation, the Harlem Riots and the Garment Workers.

b6
b7c

[redacted] stated in regard to the Harlem situation that PLM will agitate and try to make more trouble. The PLM was not organized to take advantage of the recent riot. They should now organize so that the next time a riot breaks out they can start riots in many different areas to divide the police and have them spread around the city thus they would avoid concentration of police in any one area at any given time.

- 164 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[] stated that the PLM did not expect the current riot to happen, but the firing of guns and the clubbing done by the police is tailor made to fit the PLM charges of police brutality. [] stated that the PLM should exploit the current situation for all it is worth and further that PLM will agitate for further rioting and disturbances.

b6
b7C

[] stated that this is the beginning of the revolution and the next time something like this happens PLM will be organized to have a base from which to operate to protect the people from the police.

b6
b7C

According to [] the PLM must keep agitating and work through the Harlem Defense Council to be prepared for next summer, which will be difficult as they will have people on roof tops and the bloodshed will be the blood of the New York City Police Department and not that of the people.

b6
b7C

(U)

NY T-138
July 31, 1964

2. Statements made by PLM Members
and Literature Distributed
Showing PLM Agitation in the
Racial Issue

A source furnished a throwaway captioned "Education Yes, Racism No!" issue by the PLM, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

This flyer sets forth that "working class parents of New York City especially Negroes, Puerto Ricans and many White parents are protesting an illegal Un-American 'Jim Crow' and rotting school system. They are absolutely right, we of the PLM support this boycott.

- 165 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"Negro and Puerto Rican children get only enough 'education' enabling them to work at hard, 'dirty' low paying jobs; when they are laid off they are told it is because they are poorly educated. The phony 'educators' claim that workers children are 'uneducable' they are shunted into obsolete vocational 'schools' leading to dropouts. Good education is only for rich white kids."

The flyer then sets forth 6 demands which includes throwing out the present Board of Education."

(U)

NY T-32

February 7, 1964

On December 7, 1963, a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was handed an announcement issued by the PLM, 68 West 106th Street, New York City, which set forth that on Saturday, December 7, 1963, a street meeting would be held at the corner of 105th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York City.

According to the announcement, the meeting will protest against the "police are murderers." The announcement also calls for the taking away the "murder weapons" from the New York City Police.

On August 8, 1963, a SA of the FBI obtained a flyer from an unknown female, who was participating in a PL picket line at Irving Place and East 14th Street, New York City.

This flyer was captioned "Do You Want Discrimination", and set forth that it was distributed by the Intergration Workers Group of the PLM, 227 East Third Street, New York City.

This flyer demanded that more Negroes and Puerto Ricans be given positions of higher skill and pay with the Con Edison Company, a public utility.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On March 16, 1963, a PLM meeting was held at the Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh Street, New York City.

At this meeting one of the speakers who was unidentified stated that PL was preparing to take up the common cause of every outbreak in this country and provide material for talks on diverse subjects. Every outbreak and demonstration would be weighed from all aspects in order that PL can take advantage of the situation.

(U)

NY T-273
March 16, 1963

Source furnished a PL Party Independent Nominating Petition of WILLIAM L. EPTON, Candidate for the Borough of Manhattan Councilman-at-large. Attached to the petition was a mimeographed letter explaining the petition. This letter dated July 31, 1963 was on letterhead stationery of the PLP, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York 27, New York and General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York.

This letter addressed "Dear Friend" stated in part as follows:

The PLM intends to give the working people of New York a real choice in the coming Councilman elections in November. Under the leadership of the Wagner - Kennedy forces in New York and the Rockefeller leadership in Albany, our city has become the largest slum and lowest wage city (as compared to other Metropolitan areas) in the country. You do not have to go to Birmingham or to the Deep South to see misery, oppression, racism and its corollary, police brutality, exist right here in New York City. Both candidates from the major parties are opposed to any meaningful changes to correct the monumental abuses of the Negro, Puerto Rican and other workers of our State.

NY T-274
August 2, 1963

- 167 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Source advised that PL was sponsoring a public meeting on December 7, 1963 from 3:00 to 5:00 PM at 105th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York City.

(U)

NY T-275
December 4, 1963

On December 7, 1963, SAS of the FBI observed a PL street meeting held at 105th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York City.

MILTON ROSEN was one of the speakers and he mourned the two dead Puerto Rican "brother workers", who were murdered, as he would his own flesh and blood. ROSEN demanded that their "killers be brought to justice."

One of the other speakers, STEFAN MARTINOT, who charged that the Police were instruments of the rich and part of the conspiracy to hold the Negro and Puerto Rican workers in a low status so that a large pool of cheap labor would be readily available to the bosses and to the capitalists.

Another speaker at the meeting was BILL EPTON, who accused the police of discrimination and brutality against the Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

On April 18, 1964, SAS of the FBI observed a PLM street meeting held at 104th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York City. At this meeting, STEFAN MARTINOT, was one of the speakers and stated that Negro citizenship and the right to vote have been taken away and they should all unite to get their rights back.

MARTINOT stated that the Negro was asked to fight in Korea and now he is being asked to fight in Vietnam for the interests of Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller.

- 168 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Another speaker at this street meeting was FRED JEROME, who spoke about the war in Vietnam and stated that the Puerto Ricans are being asked to die in Vietnam. According to JEROME, Governor Rockefeller and other millionaire interests are reaping the profits from this war.

JEROME further stated if Puerto Ricans have to be killed they should die fighting for better housing and better wages in this country and not be asked to die in Vietnam.

Source advised that he had learned that the leaders of the PLM in New York City are attempting to obtain firearms for the use of the people in New York City, particularly in the Harlem area, to defend themselves from the police.

(U)

[NY T-138
July 31, 1964] X

On August 6, 1964, SAS of the FBI observed a demonstration sponsored by the PLM, 66 West 109th Street, New York City, to protest police brutality, poor working and housing conditions in Harlem. The demonstration was held at the corner of 100th Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

ROBERT APTER, who identified himself as a member of the PLM, spoke at the rally and stated that the demonstration was called to protest the killing of FRANCISCO RODRIGUEZ and RALPH BRAZIER by the cops. APTER said that BILL EPTON of the Harlem PL Club was arrested at a street demonstration on July 25, 1964, because the police were afraid he would gather thousands of people in Harlem and march downtown. APTER remarked that the arrest of EPTON is false because EPTON was not advocating violence, but said that the people in Harlem must defend themselves and a few cops and judges would probably be killed.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

APTER continued by stating that the capitalist system causes unemployment, slums and police brutality and it should be overthrown. APTER stated that the only force and violence that would be used would be in self-defense.

Another speaker at the demonstration was DAVID DOUGLAS, who identified himself as a member of the Harlem PL Club, stated that the capitalist system must be overthrown and he does not care what system or government replaces it. DOUGLAS stated that the people must organize against police brutality and protest against anything and everything. However, that before anything can be done, the people must organize with the people in their blocks and protest against rats, roaches, lack of heat, hot water and anything else they wanted to protest against. DOUGLAS stated that the PLM can be called to help them organize themselves so that they can get what they want.

DOUGLAS further stated that the cops are only good for killing and they do not protect the people.

On May 18, 1964, SA of the FBI received a four page printed flyer, which was being handed out in the vicinity of City Hall, New York City.

This flyer was captioned "Harlem United, Let Us Defend Ourselves!".

This flyer protested police brutality and claimed that "Police, the Press, the Politicians and all other agents of the white power structure, have launched a campaign to terrorize and slander against 500,000 black people in this community, a campaign more vicious and more brutal than ever." The flyer also sets forth that "the Harlem PLM along with other organizations is forming a united peoples committee against police brutality. It is the only method that we the people of Harlem can use to protect ourselves-----"

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

by organizing tens of thousands of people." This flyer shows that it was issued by the Harlem PLM, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

3. Publications

(U) Source advised that the PLM has an annual budget of \$24,000 and publishes three publications the "Marxist - Leninist Quarterly", the "PL Magazine", a monthly and "Challenge", a weekly newspaper published in New York City. ~~A~~

(U)

[NY T-276
July 21, 1964] ~~X~~

On May 1, 1964, a SA of the FBI obtained a printed flyer from an unknown individual on the street in New York City. This flyer announced that the PLM was going to start publication of a weekly newspaper named "Challenge".

This flyer set forth that "Challenge" would be a weekly organ of the PLM of New York City, which will be dedicated to the working men and women, who have built this city and who keep it going. "It is also dedicated to fight the slum lords and bosses, fight and expose those in Government, City, State and National, who are bought and paid off by the landlords, big corporations, bankers and racketeers. Fight those who hide behind police uniforms to terrorize working people; those who murder innocent people while big crooks go scot free; fight for equal rights for all who work for a living; fight those who divide working people against each other by preaching hatred of one color by another or one language by another; fight for jobs, for a shorter working day with no loss in pay." The flyer then sets forth that "above all this newspaper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life, a way of life where working men and women own and control their homes, their factories, the police force, the courts, the City Hall, and the entire Government on an every level."

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Source made available mineographed sheet captioned "newspaper report" which indicated that a proposal was made that the PLM publish a weekly tabloid containing from eight to sixteen pages to be distributed in the working class neighborhoods of cities. This tabloid would be in both Spanish and English and would deal with the lives and struggles of the working people. This tabloid would be the official organ of the PLM of New York City.

(U)

NY T-133
May 6, 1964 ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1. Plans, Strategy, and Line of the SWP National Organization

- (U) A national conference of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) was held on January 26, 1963, at 168 West 23rd Street, New York, New York. Activities and plans of the organization were discussed and one of the speakers was BERTA GREEN, Secretary of the CAMD. ✕
- (U) The chairman of the CAMD, Dr. ALBERT E. PERRY, in a speech during the convention, emphasized that the organization was concerned only with the Monroe Defendants. He stated that neither the SWP or any other organization had any influence in the CAMD. He further stated that the position of BERTA GREEN as Secretary of the CAMD had nothing to do with her SWP membership. ✕
- (U) ✕ [NY T-216
February 1, 1963] ✕
- A characterization of the CAMD is contained in the appendix hereto.
- (U) Following the CAMD convention, described above, a member of the SWP National Committee (NC) related that the SWP felt that it could still use the CAMD as a vehicle in which the Party could enter into and exert influence in the Negro struggle. It was said that the Party felt that if the occasion ever arose where its interests in the CAMD were jeopardized, sufficient pressure and control could be exerted in order to protect the interests of the SWP in the CAMD. ✕

(U) [NY T-147
February 4, 1963] ✕

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A minority tendency led by [redacted] and [redacted] was active within the SWP and attempted to influence Party members toward differing points of view in regard to SWP policies. Under the name of [redacted] in January, 1963, prepared a document entitled, "The Decline of American Imperialism and the Tasks of the Socialist Workers Party." One of the topics dealt with by [redacted] was the Negro movement. He said this was the most advanced section of the mass movement. [redacted] claimed that the Negroes were conducting a struggle of the deepest revolutionary nature and that the SWP had the responsibility of intervening in this development. X

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-169
February 18, 1963] X

(U) FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP, on April 2, 1963, sent a letter to all locals and branches of the Party setting forth that the 20th National Convention of the SWP would convene in New York City, July 18, 1963, and continue through July 21, 1963. He wrote that one of the topics on the convention agenda would be a report and discussion on the Negro question. X

(U) [NY T-217
April 8, 1963] X

(U) At a meeting of the SWP Political Committee (PC) held May 10, 1963, a vote was taken on the political resolution entitled "Preparing for the Next Wave of Radicalism in the United States." The resolution was approved with one PC member, [redacted] in opposition and another, [redacted] abstaining.

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-218
June 25, 1963] X

This resolution was printed in a SWP Discussion Bulletin, volume 24, number 16, dated in May, 1963, and made the following points in regard to the Negro people:

- 174 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The SWP today approaches the end of its prolonged isolation but the breakthrough into the mass movement has barely begun. The radicalization of the Negro people constitutes the most important single political development within the country and its repercussions will generate new militancy against capitalism. This Negro militancy will lead toward a break with capitalist politics. Significant forces are calling for independent Negro election candidates.

Fulfillment of the political needs of such newly radicalized people is central to the activity of the SWP as a revolutionary party. Its main task is to develop a propaganda offensive for the key issues of the day such as the fight for peace, civil rights, economic security, social welfare and civil liberties. The Party will continue to run candidates where possible in local elections and also prepare for a Presidential ticket in the 1964 elections.

Major attention must be given to work in support of Negroes and others fighting for their civil rights. If white workers can be won over to active support of Negro freedom fighters this alliance might lead to the formation of a labor party and improve chances of recruiting by the SWP.

(U) [NY T-147
June 6, 1963] ~~SECRET~~

At the SWP National Convention on July 19, 1963, the report on the PC resolution on the Negro question was given by GEORGE BREITMAN, a NC member. He said that the Negro struggle was the forerunner and vanguard of the class struggle. BREITMAN designated the Negro efforts of today as almost revolutionary in nature. He said the Negroes were becoming aware that they must repudiate the white capitalist society. BREITMAN said that Negro nationalism was an outgrowth of the fight for Negro equality and one should regard Negro nationalism and revolutionary socialism as similar in nature and purpose.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

He discussed the Negro labor problem and stated this could only be resolved by the merging of a radicalized labor movement with a radicalized Negro nationalist movement. BREITMAN stated that if the Negroes want they should form an independent political group; the SWP would be willing to support it with a hope of recruiting further SWP members.

A vote was taken on the Negro question on July 20, 1963, and the PC resolution supported by an overwhelming majority of the delegates.

(U) [NY T- 219
July 19, 1963] X

FARRELL DOBBS announced at the SWP National Convention on July 20, 1963, that the SWP would go all out to back the forthcoming March on Washington. All branches were instructed to support the march through publicity in the press, cooperation with other organizations and actual participation themselves.

(U) [NY T- 147
July 21, 1963] X

In the fall 1963 edition of "International Socialist Review" there was printed the document adopted by the 1963 convention of the SWP entitled "The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation and Tasks of the SWP."

This set forth that the most notable characteristic of the newest stage in the Negro struggle was the clear and sharp rejection of gradualism, described as the program and method of "capitalist liberalism." It was set forth that the Negro move toward a Freedom Now Party was an essentially radical and potentially revolutionary demand. The document set forth that a new period had begun in May, 1963, marked by the following features:

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

1. The struggle is acquiring an ever greater mass character.
2. Mass action in various forms has moved into the North.
3. Negro leaders feel nervous and unsteady because they lack control over the masses.
4. There are special traits in the civil rights struggle in the South which, by dramatizing injustices, constantly embarrasses the Federal government.

The document went on to name the first big task of the Negro struggle as being the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses in an independent movement to fight for their equality. This was to prepare for an eventual "revolutionary alliance of the working class and the Negro people". For this reason, according to the SWP document, revolutionary socialists welcomed the growth of Negro nationalism because this contributed to the creation of an independent Negro movement. Negro nationalism and revolutionary socialism were regarded as complementary forces. It was recommended that revolutionary socialists be firm and patient in demonstrating that Marxism was valid and relevant for the Negro struggle.

It was set forth that the general alliance between the labor movement and Negroes fighting for liberation could be helped by cooperation between the vanguard of the Negro struggle and the vanguard of the working class represented by the SWP. It was further set forth that the role of the SWP was to assemble and programatically equip the forces that would lead the "coming American revolution to abolish capitalism and racism". It was stated that the SWP sought to equip both revolutionary whites and Negroes with "the best set of scientific tools yet devised to change society-Marxism".

- 177 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

The present tasks of the SWP in connection with the Negro were said to consist of better educating the membership to understand the Negro, providing more leadership and coordination to expand Party work in the Negro struggle, to expand the Party's Negro cadre in Negro organizations, to develop demands and proposals in collaboration with other Negro militants and to expand the Party's press and circulation of literature among Negroes.

A characterization of "International Socialist Review" is contained in the appendix hereto.

In the elections for the new SWP leadership at the end of the 1963 convention, one Negro was elected to the NC and three Negroes were elected alternate NC members.

(U) [NY T-220
July 26, 1963] X

(U) While the convention was in session a special meeting was held in a private caucus room to discuss the Negro struggle for equality and during the discussion a proposal was made to organize armed defense squads for use when Negroes were in trouble. X

(U) [NY T-221
July 24, 1963] X

The proposal to have a flying squad of armed Negroes for their defense was not taken seriously by all those in attendance at the meeting and it was proposed to attempt closer ties with Negro groups to better assess the situation.

(U) [NY T-222
August 23, 1963] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

A letter was sent to all locals and branches of the SWP on August 1, 1963, setting forth that the literature panel at the SWP convention had proposed a massive subscription campaign for "The Militant". It was planned to make a special introductory offer aimed at penetrating Negro communities throughout the country. It had been decided that it would be realistic to launch a subscription drive to run from September 16th until November 16, 1963, with a minimum goal of 5,000 new readers. The price of the introductory subscription was to be .50¢ for a four month period. It was said that this would be the most ambitious project since the immediate post war period. It was urged that emphasis be placed on quantity sale of subscriptions to new readers. It was requested that sales be concentrated in areas calculated to return a major expansion of Negro readers of "The Militant".

(U) [NY T-148
August 16, 1963] X

On August 8, 1963, a letter was sent by FARRELL DOBBS to all branch organizers of the Party setting forth that large crowds were expected to be in attendance at the March on Washington scheduled for August 28, 1963. He requested that all SWP members participating in the march report to a Party leader in Washington upon arrival to receive instructions as to distribution of "The Militant" during the march.

(U) [NY T-222
August 21, 1963] X

A characterization of "The Militant" is contained in the appendix hereto.

In a letter dated September 3, 1963, ED SHAW, Acting National Secretary, sent a letter to all locals and branches of the SWP. He set forth that the nearly 50 comrades who had participated in the August 28th March on Washington sold over 7,000 single copies of "The Militant" and would have been able to sell more if the papers had been available.

(U) [NY T-222
October 11, 1963] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~
In the issue of "The Militant" dated August 19, 1963, there was announced the candidacy of CLIFTON DE BERRY to represent the SWP on the ballot in Brooklyn, New York, for the office of Councilman-at-Large in the November, 1963 elections.

The Political Committee voted at its meeting of August 2, 1963, to organize a national tour of DE BERRY in the fall, speaking on the Negro struggle. DE BERRY is a member of the SWP NC.

(U) [NY T-148
August 16, 1963] X

In a letter to Party branches dated August 5, 1963, the National Office of the SWP set forth that a special issue of "The Militant" would be available for sale featuring the idea of independent political action through a Freedom Now Party. It was set forth that the task of the SWP was to sell this issue of "The Militant" at the March on Washington, August 28, 1963.

The SWP sent a letter to its branches early in September, 1963, setting forth that the National Office felt that the most significant issue to come out of the March on Washington was the call for the formation of a Freedom Now Party which would run its first candidates in the 1964 elections. It was felt conceivable that such an organization could elect councilmen in the heavily populated Negro areas of large Northern cities as well as Congressmen from these areas.

(U) [NY T-217
August 9, 1963, and
September 11, 1963] X

A characterization of the Freedom Now Party (FNP) is contained in the appendix hereto.

In regard to the CAMD, mentioned previously, a letter was sent to CAMD branches from National Headquarters on August 9, 1963, setting forth that the trial of the Monroe defendants might take place before the end

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

of 1963. It was set forth that the SWP had taken the initiative in organizing a defense committee for the Monroe people and had not undertaken this lightly. The Party had faced overt opposition and hostility from the leadership of major civil rights groups and also the less direct opposition of political opponents.

Other problems faced was the early rivalry between two defense committees, the blackout of news by the mass media and the lack of forces outside the SWP willing to lead a defense. The most important handicap, however, was the repeated postponements of the trial which made it increasingly difficult to sustain popular interest. It was set forth that each campaign to raise funds for local defense and to publicize the cause met with less response.

It was further stated that although the CAMD was not the main arena for Negro work today there could be interaction between the CAMD and other work. In areas where CAMD chapters had become dormant, SWP branches were instructed to immediately take steps to reactivate them. Where chapters had never existed the branches were asked to take the initiative in organizing them.

(U) [NY T-222
August 21, 1963] X

A letter was sent to all SWP branches from National Headquarters on October 14, 1963, setting forth that it was expected that the Monroe "kidnap" case was likely to assume more importance in the near future with the trial date drawing nearer. It was stated that one of the Monroe defendants, [redacted] would be on tour in November and December and the SWP branches were urged to help out with the speaking engagements, publicity and financial aid.

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-222
October 22, 1963] X

- 181 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) A letter was sent from National Headquarters to all branches of the SWP under date of September 30, 1963 headed, "CLIFTON DE BERRY National Tour on FNP" ~~X~~

The letter set forth that DE BERRY was presently campaigning as SWP candidate for Councilman-at-Large in Brooklyn, and that he would soon begin a national speaking tour. The letter set forth that the tour was important from the point of view of orienting Party members on the new stage in the Negro struggle and the Party's role in it.

Another letter to all branches was sent out October 3, 1963, and set forth that DE BERRY's tour would begin in Baltimore on October 19, 1963, and the title of his speech would be "The Negro Revolution". In publicity for DE BERRY, it was suggested that it be emphasized that DE BERRY supported the idea of a FNP.

(U) [NY T-218
October 15, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) Speaking in Cleveland on December 14, 1963, DE BERRY discussed the need for Negroes to have their own political party. He said that he was not a member of the FNP but fully supported it. DE BERRY stated that the present Negro struggle was unleashing forces which could be the start of a political revolution in the United States. He said that socialism was the only answer to the class and labor struggle and that when the Negro struggle was successful, they would unite with labor and go on to overthrow capitalism in the United States. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-223
December 16, 1963] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

GEORGE BREITMAN expressed his views to the SWP leadership regarding the FNP in October, 1963. He said the FNP as yet did not amount to much, but that within certain limits, its growth in various localities would depend on the initiative of Negro SWP members. Realizing that obstacles to the success of FNP were enormous, BREITMAN felt the SWP had nothing to lose through collaboration with the new Negro forces. BREITMAN wished his views to be kept in confidence because of an anti-SWP tendency which existed within the FNP.

(U) [NY T-148
October 25, 1963] X

SWP National Headquarters notified all its branches on November 1, 1963, that a "Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference" would be held in Detroit and urged participation in this conference where possible.

(U) [NY T-222
November 8, 1963] X

(U) When this conference was discussed at a local SWP branch on November 8, 1963, one of the members present commented that the goal was to push Detroit Negroes into the political arena of the FNP. X

(U) The FNP was described on this occasion as the "brain child" of the SWP. X

(U) [NY T-217
November 12, 1963] X

[redacted] a leader of the FNP notified the SWP in October, 1963, that he took exception to an article appearing in the Fall, 1963 International Socialist Review. He said the SWP did not have the right to publish articles which gave the impression that an FNP-SWP alliance was an agreed upon fact. [redacted] further objected to the estimate of the SWP that FNP was incapable of creating a program for itself.

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-148
October 25, 1963] X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

GEORGE BREITMAN again expressed his views to the SWP leadership late in November, 1963, pointing out that there had been, from the beginning, a persistent anti-SWP campaign in the FNP. He said there had been complaints that the SWP had been trying to dominate the FNP. BREITMAN had feared there would be some comment against the SWP at the "Negro Grass Roots Conference" held at Detroit, but this had not occurred. He recommended that if any answer was planned to HAROLD CRUSE, it should be brief and mild.

(U) [NY T- 148
December 13, 1963] X

At a plenum of the SWP. NC in session on December 27, 1963, at New York Party Headquarters, one of the SWP leaders present, FRED HALSTEAD, predicted that there would be a slowing down of activities regarding the FNP. He stated that the FNP had no strong leaders and it was therefore desirable for the SWP to go to work on its own election ticket and make arrangements later if there were changes in the development of the FNP.

In regard to the 1964 elections, HALSTEAD said there were better opportunities for Party propaganda now since independent political action was known and accepted in the Negro movement.

Another speaker, CLIFTON DE BERRY, said that while on tour, he had spoken with many of those connected with FNP and found them to be inexperienced and lacking organizing ability.

FARRELL DOBBS discussed the SWP Presidential ticket at the plenum on December 27, 1963, and said that it was advisable, in view of the civil rights movement, to have a Negro comrade as Presidential candidate. He recommended CLIFTON DE BERRY to be the

~~SECRET~~

NY100-153735

~~SECRET~~

SWP candidate for President with EDWARD SHAW to run as Vice-President.

In the discussion that followed, there were some objections to DE BERRY on the ground that he was not the strongest candidate, and suggestions were made that DOBBS, SHAW or HALSTEAD might be better choices. It was finally concluded, however, that DE BERRY would stand up better in any discussion regarding civil rights because he was a Negro and the plenum finally voted to unanimously approve the nomination of DE BERRY and SHAW.

(U)

NY T-224
December 27, 1963

[redacted] made appearances in the Los Angeles area on behalf of the FNP in January, 1964, and while there discussed, privately, some problems concerning SWP - FNP relations. He said that he had heard objections to the attention given the FNP by the "International Socialist Review" and "The Militant", which was regarded as an intrusion into FNP affairs. He also said that the DE BERRY tour under the slogan, "Freedom Now" had added to the confusion and the identification of FNP as a creature of the SWP. It was the opinion of SWP leaders that [redacted] himself held no ill will and that if carefully and sensitively handled, the Party could continue collaboration with the FNP without embarrassment or additional problems resulting.

b6
b7c

(U)

NY T-222
January 24, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

A public forum was held by the SWP at its headquarters in New York City on February 28, 1964, with CONRAD LYNN as guest speaker. LYNN discussed the case of the Monroe, North Carolina kidnap defendants and their sponsorship by the CAMD. He attacked the SWP in that as the main organizer of the CAMD it had acted without regard to the individual defendants and as a result these individuals came under the influence of people hostile to the SWP. LYNN said that the Monroe defendants were as under-developed politically and socially as they had been before the CAMD took over their sponsorship and because the CAMD had failed to work on their political development they were easily influenced by others. According to LYNN, it was this influence that resulted in the boys renouncing the SWP and CAMD as the case came to trial and this resulted in their losing the case because of the last minute change in lawyers.

(U) [NY T-225
March 3, 1964] X

(U) One of the SWP branches was asked in March, 1963, to check into the influence and strength of the Muslims in Negro areas. If any build up or following for MALCOLM X was noted, the SWP National Office was to be notified at once. X

(U) [NY T-217
March 13, 1964] X

In "The Militant" of March 16, 1964, it was set forth that CLIFTON DE BERRY had lauded the declaration by MALCOLM X that he would develop black nationalist political strength and would actively support the civil rights struggle. DE BERRY declared that "every militant civil rights struggle helps the Negro understand the need for black political power. And I certainly welcome his declaration that Negroes have the right and duty to defend themselves against racist violence."

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

It is noted that in succeeding issues of "The Militant", speeches and activity of MALCOLM X were reported on with approval and MALCOLM X was also sponsored as a speaker at an open forum of the SWP in New York.

(U) The National Office of the SWP notified its branches that they were expected to become more closely integrated with the activities of the Negro groups, clubs and social affairs in their communities. It was said that this was a task that would give the branches greater opportunities to work in the civil rights struggle and give the Party a political opening which they had not had before. All branches were instructed to go into the Negro community and make clear that CLIFTON DE BERRY was a Negro running for President of the United States. They were to urge Negroes to have speaking engagements for DE BERRY to show the world that the Negro through the power of the ballot will have a say in who sits in the White House. X

(U) [NY T-217
March 24, 1964] X

(U) In one of the speeches he made during the Spring of 1964, CLIFTON DE BERRY made the following points in regard to the Negro nationalist movement: X

He said that the SWP recognized that Negro nationalist organizations are a potential revolutionary force. Because of their militancy, the nationalists tend to pull other Negro political organizations to the left. He said that the nationalists would soon learn that it was impossible for the Negro to be equal under capitalism and find that the only answer is socialism.

(U) [NY T-226
April 2, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a SWP branch meeting held June 7, 1964, it was reported that CLIFTON DE BERRY had held an important conference with the editor of "Muhammad Speaks". As a result of this meeting, it was reported that "Muhammad Speaks" was willing to support DE BERRY in his campaign. It was also agreed that DE BERRY furnish articles from "The Militant" on the subject of socialism to be used by "Muhammad Speaks".

(U) [NY T-220
June 11, 1964]

"Muhammad Speaks" is an official publication of the Nation of Islam (NOI).

A characterization of the NOI is contained in the appendix hereto.

In the issue of "The Militant", dated June 8, 1964, there was printed excerpts from the tape transcript of a symposium held at SWP headquarters in New York on May 29, 1964, on the topic "What is Behind the Harlem Hate Gang Scare".

CLIFTON DE BERRY, one of the participants in the symposium, stated that the black people were just beginning to demonstrate their opposition to the Democratic Party. He said that in striking out in their own interests they were attacking the power structure and the power structure was paying attention. He further stated that the people of this country were learning from struggles abroad that if they were going to have their freedom, they must strike the first blow.

Another speaker at the forum, according to "The Militant" was MALCOLM X of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI).

MALCOLM X is the founder and leader of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, a characterization of which is contained in the appendix hereto.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"The Militant" quoted MALCOLM X as predicting that terrorism was on the way as an historical development of everything taking place on the earth today. He said that the economic, political and social system in this country could not produce freedom for an Afro-American.

A statement by CLIFTON DE BERRY was printed in "The Militant" of June 29, 1964, regarding the kidnapping of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. In his statement, DE BERRY called upon President JOHNSON to deputize and arm the Negroes in Mississippi and to dispatch federal troops there.

cc

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

2. Policy, Plans and Activities
of the SWP - New York Local (NYL)

A characterization of the SWP - NYL is contained in the appendix hereto.

- (U) Unless otherwise indicated meetings of the SWP & NYL were held at Party Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York, New York. ~~X~~
- (U) In 1963, the main activity of the NYL consisted of electoral activity in Brooklyn, New York, where the SWP is running a Negro candidate for Councilman-at-Large. This candidacy is in preparation for the advancement of SWP support for the FWP. It is also in accordance with the new SWP policy adopted at the 1963 National Convention calling for the formation of an all-Negro party set out in the SWP resolution on the Negro question. In this regard, the SWP approach to the Negro question involves encouraging the growth of Negro nationalist movements, such as the Muslims, as the beginning of the revolutionary development of the Negro people, and the eventual turning of the Negro toward a revolutionary socialist direction. ~~X~~
- (U) NY T-147
September 19, 1963 ~~X~~
- (U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held on March 28, 1963, BERTA GREEN gave a report on the CAMD, saying that it would have to be reactivated on all fronts. This was to include obtaining signatures, holding forums, getting union resolutions, obtaining church support and arranging for speakers. She urged all NYL members to get behind the Party in the drive for the CAMD in its bid to defeat the extradition of one of the Monroe defendants from Cleveland to North Carolina. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) [redacted] spoke, saying that all SWP branches would reactivate their CAMD work. [redacted] stated that while the SWP was not numerically the majority in CAMD, it was the driving force and accepted the leadership positions and all major responsibility in CAMD functions and actions. He said that the success of the work of CAMD depends in the final analysis on the SWP. X

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-147
April 4, 1963] X

At an open forum sponsored by the NYL on April 5, 1963, those present were urged to circulate petitions among friends to prevent the extradition of one of the Monroe defendants charged with kidnapping.

(U) [NY T-166
April 11, 1963] X

A public meeting of the CAMD was held on April 10, 1963, at the Hotel Albert, 23 East Tenth Street, New York, New York. There were members of many different organizations in the audience, but the largest group in attendance were members of the NYL. The collection at the meeting was taken up by CLIFTON DE BERRY and it was estimated that between \$100.00 and \$200.00 was taken in.

(U) [NY T-147
April 12, 1963] X

(U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held on August 1, 1963, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, BERTA GREEN gave a report on the CAMD. She said that the trials of some of the Monroe defendants were due to come up in the fall, and for this reason, the CAMD must increase its activities. X

(U) [NY T-147
August 13, 1963] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At the NYL Executive Committee meeting held on July 30, 1963, a report was made by [redacted] on the special Councilman-at-Large election to be held in Brooklyn in November, 1963. A motion was passed to run CLIFTON DE BERRY as the SWP candidate.

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-227
August 16, 1963] X

A letter was sent on August 3, 1963, by the NYL election campaign committee, announcing the candidacy of DE BERRY. This set forth that the SWP campaign would be "directed primarily toward the Negro peoples' Freedom Now struggle."

(U) [NY T-147
August 13, 1963] X

In the issue of "The Militant" dated August 19, 1963, it was set forth that "Freedom Now" would be a central plank in the campaign to elect CLIFTON DE BERRY a Negro Council member in New York City.

"The Militant" further set forth that DE BERRY's platform was based on the issue of Negro rights and that he was calling for the formation of a nationwide "all-Black Freedom Party" to put up independent candidates in the 1964 election to fight for civil rights.

On August 24, 1963, at a street meeting in Brooklyn for the candidacy of DE BERRY, [redacted] mentioned that the Party had a stake in the formation of the all-Negro FNP. [redacted] said that the Negro comrades of the SWP would be a part of this new party and would try to influence its direction.

b6
b7C

[redacted] who is one of the Negro members of the SWP who will be participating in the new party as a member, said that the Party plan is to try to throw as many of its Negro cadres in as possible and to try to reactivate as many of the sympathizers who have left in

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

order to turn the organization as far left as possible and eventually to use it as the big opening to the radicalizing Negro masses. [redacted] said that the Negroes have to take the lead in the building of black Trotskyism while the white comrades work among the whites. Then at the correct time when the revolutionary situation arises, the two forces will unite.

b6
b7C

(U) [NY T-147
September 3, 1963] X

(U)

A letter was sent to the NYL members on May 20, 1963, describing a picketing which was proposed for May 23, 1963, on the occasion of a visit by President KENNEDY to New York City. The letter set forth that the NYL was calling on its friends and other organizations to support a demonstration around the theme of support to the Birmingham civil rights struggle. It was further set forth that the picket line would be held around the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and all NYL members were requested to meet at 7:30 p.m. on May 23, 1963, at the corner of Park Avenue and 50th Street, in New York. X

The picketing demonstration was also announced to the membership meeting of the NYL held on May 22, 1963, and [redacted] said that the NYL would put all of its forces and resources behind the demonstration.

b6
b7C

A flyer was issued by the NYL in regard to the picketing on May 23, 1963, which demanded that the President deputize and arm Birmingham Negroes for self-protection against racist attacks.

(U) [NY T-147
May 28 and 31, 1963] X

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on May 23, 1963, observed at approximately 7:00 p.m. a car driven by [redacted] arrive at the corner of 50th Street and Park Avenue, New York, New York. A number of

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

people and picket signs were unloaded. This group was later joined by others and the picketing began on 49th and 50th Streets, across from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Signs carried on the picket line which were identified as belonging to the SWP carried slogans protesting the racial situation in the South and in one case setting forth the demand "Arm Birmingham Negroes Now." Twenty-two members of the NYL were identified by Special Agents as taking part in the picket line.

A picketing demonstration took place on September 20, 1963, at Harkness-Joid Plaza, 47th Street and First Avenue, New York, New York, near the United Nations Building. Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed many organizations represented on signs carried by the pickets, including the SWP. The picketing was in protest against racial events in Birmingham, Alabama.

Detective [redacted] New York City Police Department, Bureau of Special Services, stated on September 20, 1963, that following the picketing demonstration near the United Nations, a group of the pickets proceeded to the 15th Precinct, New York City Police Department, at 160 East 35th Street, New York, New York. Following a demonstration outside the precinct house, two individuals were arrested, one of whom was [redacted] on a charge of third degree assault against a policeman.

b6
b7C

The picketing of September 20, 1963, was reported in "The Militant" of September 30, 1963. It was set forth that the police had twice broken up peaceful civil rights demonstrations with horses and clubs.

(U)

At the membership meeting of the NYL held on August 29, 1963, [redacted] gave a report on the NYL participation in the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. He said that the SWP group finally amounted to forty-five people and that it had been possible to sell 7,000 issues of "The Militant" during the March. ~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) In a letter sent to members of the NYL on August 31, 1963, it was set forth that over 7,000 copies of "The Militant" had been sold during the March on Washington and that many thousands more could easily have been sold. It was set forth that the NYL should take special pride in the performance of its members who had participated in the March. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-147
September 3, 1963] ~~X~~

In "The Militant" of November 18, 1963, it was set forth that CLIFTON DE BERRY had received 3,514 votes as SWP candidate for Councilman-at-Large in Brooklyn.

(U) At a membership meeting held October 31, 1963, BERTA GREEN announced that the CAMD was being reactivated and she urged as many comrades as possible to attend its functions. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-147
November 7, 1963] ~~X~~

(U) GREEN reported on the CAMD at a membership meeting of the NYL held December 12, 1963, saying that the CAMD must raise at least \$5,000 to build up an adequate defense. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-147
December 20, 1963] ~~X~~

In the issue of "The Militant" dated March 23, 1964, it was set forth that the CAMD had announced suspension of all public activity. It stated that the trial of the Monroe defendants had been held February 18 through 28, 1964, and all had been found guilty and sentenced. The article went on to state that the defendants had announced on the evening before the opening of the trial that they were severing their relations with the CAMD.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held March 19, 1964, BERTA GREEN described the events leading to the developments at the trial in Monroe. There followed a discussion of the CAMD generally and the Party's role in creating it and guiding it over the three years of its existence. It was concluded that events had taken an unforeseen course due to the activities of some of the Monroe defendants who prevented the uniting of various groups active in the defense effort. X

(U) [NY T-147
March 26, 1964] X

(U) Thus, as of April, 1964, the CAMD, previously set up by the SWP as a front group, no longer exists. The cessation of activities of this committee resulted from the rejection of the CAMD by the Monroe defendants just prior to their trial in Monroe, North Carolina. X

(U) [NY T-147
April 3, 1964] X

At a meeting of the NYL Executive Committee held December 16, 1963, a report was made on civil rights and it was proposed that NYL become involved in the rent strike being conducted by some individuals in New York City. It was felt that this could be undertaken by Negro members but the white members should be working on getting subscriptions and making contacts.

(U) [NY T-227
January 10, 1964] X

In reference to the rent strike issues of "The Militant" during the fall and winter of 1963 to 1964, made frequent mention of the rent strike movement against poor housing conditions in Harlem. In the issue of December 23, 1963, it was stated that the rent strike had national implications. In the issue of January 13, 1964, it was set forth that the rent strike was successful and that the city power structure recognized its potential explosiveness.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

In "The Militant" of February 3, 1964, CLIFTON DE BERRY was described as having prepared a statement for delivery at a meeting of New York City Council on January 23, 1964. He never actually delivered the statement at the meeting, described as "the wildest hearing ever seen in the Council chambers", because DE BERRY walked out with others as a boycott of the session. In DE BERRY's statement, printed by "The Militant", he said that neither the Democrats nor Republicans had any program for solving the housing problem. He stated that the banks, speculators and other big real estate interests control these properties and liked things the way they were. He expressed the hope that the rent strike movement would gain such momentum as to force a change in the Democratic - Republican monopoly of the political picture.

(U) At its meetings, early in 1964, the NYL also followed activities of the rent strike and its progress was regularly reported on. Members were asked to mobilize in support of the rent strike. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-147
January 2, 1964 -
February 26, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At the NYL branch conference held February 8 and 9, 1964, [] gave a report on the Negro struggle. He said there was a need for the Party to move with caution but to firmly build a Negro cadre for the coming struggle. He said the best vehicle was activity in connection with the rent strike and through contacts made among the thousand subscribers to "The Militant" obtained recently, most of whom were Negroes. In the discussion that followed everyone spoke hopefully on the prospects of the rent strike growing nationally to the gain of the radical movement. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T-147
February 14, 1964] ~~X~~

- 197 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) On April 3, 1964, a Militant Labor Forum (MLF) was held at Party Headquarters by the SWP - NYL on the topic "The Northern Negro and the Civil Rights Struggle." The speaker, LARRY STEWART, was introduced as the SWP candidate for Senator from New Jersey. In his speech, STEWART said that Northern Negroes expressed sympathy with Negroes suffering in the South, but when stern measures are brought up, they tend to shy away from any suggestion of violence. In regard to "self-defense" STEWART said that contrary to popular belief Negroes in the past at many times defended themselves as individuals. STEWART spoke in favor of organized self-defense as a new policy for obtaining Negro rights.

(U) NY T- 166
April 8, 1964

A characterization of the MLF is contained in the appendix hereto.

At an Executive Committee meeting of the NYL held April 6, 1964, [redacted] proposed a campaign to get "The Militant" on the newsstands in the Negro community. He noted the rising acceptance of "The Militant" by Negroes and it was agreed that a campaign be organized on a professional basis to start the following weekend.

b6
b7C

(U) NY T- 227
June 12, 1964

(U) On April 6, 1964, a letter was sent from [redacted] to NYL - SWP members setting forth that a meeting featuring MALCOLM X was scheduled to take place April 8, 1964, at the Palm Gardens Ballroom, 310 West 52nd Street, New York, New York. He instructed that all members be at this meeting one hour before it was scheduled to start and to be available for assignment. He described the meeting as a political act of first importance, saying that the turnout of the NYL would be a public test of the SWP potential. He also stated it was important to exploit the opportunities for selling subscriptions, literature and making contacts.

b6
b7C

(U) NY T- 147
April 8, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) At the MALCOLM X meeting held April 8, 1964, the speaker remarked that he had been in Cleveland a few days earlier where violence had occurred in a civil rights protest with the police having rocks thrown at them in response to fire hoses and tear gas. MALCOLM X summed up by saying it was Molotov cocktails yesterday, stones today and hand grenades tomorrow. This remark resulted in extended applause. X

MALCOLM X also stated that the black man wanted his rights and economically, politically and socially would not stop until he got them. He said that in the future white men as well as Negroes would be losing their blood. He stated that Negroes like others had the right to own arms and although he did not advocate initiating violence, if a intruder came to his porch he would use his rifle.

(U) [NY T-166
April 15, 1964] X

(U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held April 9, 1964, the MALCOLM X meeting of April 8, 1964 was discussed. It was stated that MALCOLM X showed evidence of having absorbed some of GEORGE BREITMAN's ideas on the Negro question. X

(U) [NY T-147
April 13, 1964] X

(U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held April 25, 1964, a special report was given on the success obtained in getting "The Militant" on the major newsstands in Harlem. It was said this was helped by the big coverage in "The Militant" of the talk by MALCOLM X. X

(U) [NY T-147
April 28, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) A membership meeting of the NYL was held on May 7, 1964, at which there was a discussion of the "stall-ins" held by Negro civil rights groups in New York. The main ideas advanced in the discussion was that this was the farthest, and most militant stage that the Negro people had arrived at and that the NYL should prepare itself for intervention in this type of movement. Some of the members objected to intervention because of the lack of Negro cadres in the Party. X

(U) [NY T-147
May 13, 1964] X

(U) A MLF was held May 8, 1964, which was in the form of a symposium on the topic "Mass Civil Disobedience for Civil Rights." The summary of remarks made by participating speakers was that Negroes would continue to use the device of mass civil disobedience and other methods if necessary until they obtained "freedom, justice and equality." It was mentioned that the "white power structure" wanted to keep Negroes in servitude. It was agreed that the World's Fair stall-in was a success because it was a revolutionary tactic and it accomplished its objective of harrasing white people. X

(U) [NY T-228
May 11, 1964] X

(U) At a membership meeting of NYL held May 14, 1964, it was announced that on May 18, 1964, there would be a demonstration sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) at New York City Hall on May 18, 1964. SWP members were asked to attend and six of those present volunteered. X

(U) [NY T-228
May 19, 1964] X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

- (U) An announcement was made at a MLF held May 29, 1964, that a picketing was planned for June 1, 1964, at the New York Times Building on 43rd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues in New York. This was to protest a series of articles appearing in the "New York Times" alleging that Harlem gangs were operating on a "hate white basis." Support was urged for this picket line.

(U) NY T-166
May 30, 1964

The area described was observed by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 1, 1964, and it was noted that a picket line formed shortly after noon and continued until about 12:45 p.m. The picketers never numbered more than six at any one time, and this included a small boy about ten or twelve years old. Signs carried by those picketing and chants shouted by them were in opposition to the "New York Times," New York City's Police Commissioner and Jim Crow.

- (U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held May 28, 1964, there was a lengthy discussion on the movement led by MALCOLM X since his split with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. The general summary was that MALCOLM X claimed he was not familiar with Marxism but that he and the SWP were allied similarly politically. It was stated that the outlook of MALCOLM X in regard to whites was improving and that he would now accept help from them. Also discussed was the fact that he was advocating a "united front" of all Negro leaders which is what the SWP had always advocated.

(U) NY T-228
June 1, 1964

- (U) At a membership meeting of the NYL held June 25, 1964, it was announced that the NYL would sell "The Militant" at the Harlem Armory, June 28, 1964, prior to the time that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was to speak there. Instructions were given that if members were asked if they were for MALCOLM X or for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that should reply that they were for

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

b6
b7c

(U) "Negro unity." Also at this meeting [redacted] presented an educational talk on black nationalism and Marxism. He said that they had two things in common, both were "revolutionary and anti-capitalist." He said that both movements were a fight to the finish against this society. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-228
June 29, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) At the meeting on June 25, 1964, it was said that selling "The Militant" would be a chance to "get at" some of the reporters of MUHAMMAD. A maximum turnout was requested for this occasion. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-147
July 2, 1964] ~~X~~

The SWP issued a publication entitled, "Party Campaigner" dated June, 1964, which described activities undertaken by the SWP in various areas. One of these articles discussed the MLF during the period January - May, 1964. It was set forth that in the 22 public meetings which had been held, 12 of the guest speakers had been Negroes. In describing the subject matter of the 1964 forums it was noted that the largest number, 10, had been on the Negro struggle.

Another article in the "Party Campaigner" was on the subject of newsstand sales of "The Militant" in Harlem. It was set forth that there was some question about the reception the SWP would get from black nationalists in Harlem, but when the campaign began this proved no real barrier. It was reported that there were now 45 Harlem newsstands which regularly sold "The Militant." It was further stated that there were now between 75 and 100 people who bought "The Militant" on newsstands in Harlem.

(U) [NY T-147
July 9, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(U) In regard to the rally held by ELIJAH MUHAMMED on June 28, 1964, SWP members in New York were informed that despite instructions by MUHAMMED's supporters to the crowd not to buy the paper, over 400 copies of "The Militant" had been sold. Later, at a rally of backers of MALCOLM X, 150 copies were sold. ~~X~~

(U) NY T-228
July 7, 1964 ~~X~~

A meeting of the NYL Executive Committee was held on June 29, 1964, and at this meeting [redacted] reported that MALCOLM X had launched a new party called the Organization for Afro-American Unity (OAAU). It was voted to have SWP Negro members try to join this organization.

b6
b7C

(U) NY T-227
July 10, 1964 ~~X~~

(U) On July 1, 1964, it was stated at the headquarters of the SWP - NYL that [redacted] and [redacted] had joined MALCOLM X's OAAU and that [redacted] wanted to join but did not have the \$2.00 fee at the time. Other SWP members favored a guerilla-type army to march to Mississippi and some said they would join with MALCOLM X if he should initiate such a force. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U) NY T-228
July 2, 1964 ~~X~~

In the issue of "The Militant" dated July 13, 1964, there was printed the full text of the statement of basic aims of the OAAU. Furthermore, CLIFTON DE BERRY was quoted as saying, "We welcome the formation of the OAAU by MALCOLM X and other

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

black militants as a giant step towards the real black revolution in America".

A characterization of the OAAU is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

~~SECRET~~

(U)

At a meeting of the NYL held July 23, 1964, a report was given by [redacted] on the rioting which had taken place in Harlem on the previous weekend. He said that the Negro rioting was an act of desperation on the part of the Negroes. He said that there was no communist involvement in the rioting as reported in the press. [redacted] said that the Negroes would need guns and they may eventually go against the police to get them. [redacted] stated that the "Negro radicals" and the SWP were allied because they were the only two groups who were against the present society. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

[redacted] stated that the rioting and looting was without organization, but in answer to the fact that these people were in the minority one could answer that other "revolutionaries" were also in the minority until they took over and became the majority. [redacted] gave as an example the Russian Revolution in which "the police had a plan for the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth days, but they never got to the sixth day". It was [redacted] opinion that the rioting was a pre-revolutionary tendency and that the charge of communist infiltration had been propagandized because whites simply could not believe it was the work of Negroes alone. ~~X~~

b6
b7C

(U)

In the discussion following [redacted] it was the general consensus of the members present that the police should be removed from Harlem. The rioting and looting which took place in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn was referred to as a "second front". One of the members present, [redacted] said that she had been with the downtown Brooklyn CORE unit during the rioting and she had been responsible for numerous telephone calls to the police to send them on false ~~X~~

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) alarms saying there were demonstrations at various places. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T- 228
July 30, 1964] ~~X~~

(U) [] At the NYL meeting of July 23, 1964, []
[] stated that the only radical group he knew
of playing a role in the Negro riots was the Progressive
Labor Movement (PLM), which operates the Harlem Defense
Council. He said that PLM issued a weekly newspaper,
"Challenge" which was geared to the black ghetto and
which was doing a fine job in his opinion. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) [] stated that the strategy of
Brooklyn CORE in making telephone calls to the police
department ostensibly from private citizens was to get
as many of the police out of Harlem as possible. ~~X~~

b6
b7c

(U) [NY T- 147
July 29, 1964] ~~X~~

A characterization of the PLM and
the Harlem Defense Council are
contained in the Appendix Section
of this report.

On July 2, 1964, a meeting of the Students
for DE BERRY and SHAW was held in Hamilton Hall, Room
212, Columbia University, New York City. The main
speaker at this meeting was JAMES SHABAZZ, introduced
as an aide to MALCOLM X. SHABAZZ predicted that
police would be murdered in the streets of Harlem.
He characterized the rioters in New York City as
"freedom fighters" and he approved of the riots and
looting.

(U) [NY T- 130
July 23, 1964] ~~X~~

- 205 -

~~SECRET~~

A characterization of Students
for DE BERRY and SHAW is contained
in the Appendix Section of this report.

~~SECRET~~

On July 23, 1964, a meeting was held at Central Plaza Annex, New York, New York, which had representatives of a number of groups, including the SWP. The purpose and main theme of the meeting was solidarity as it related to the Negro working class and the White working class. In the discussion, it was decided that street demonstrations in the civil rights fight must utilize both Whites and Negroes in integrated protests. In this regard, a protest march and demonstration was planned for the following meeting.

(U) [NY T-229
July 23, 1964] X

(U) The identity of the individual representing the SWP at the meeting held July 23, 1964 was FRED HALSTEAD. A continuing committee formed at this meeting took the name Harlem Solidarity Committee X

(U) [NY T-37
July 24, 1964] X

A characterization of the Harlem Solidarity Committee is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

(U) At a meeting of the NYL held August 13, 1964, CLIFTON DE BERRY reported on a Harlem street meeting which had been scheduled for August 8, 1964, and which was organized by [redacted] of the Freedom Now Party. [redacted] had been forbidden by the police to speak in that area and, when he tried to do so, was arrested. X

b6
b7c

(U) DE BERRY said that SWP was defending [redacted] and had enlisted the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union to defend him when his case came up in court. DE BERRY said he had been able to speak on August 8, 1964, although he predicted that it would not be long before X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

(U) other individuals would be forbidden to speak in Harlem. ~~X~~

(U) In the discussion that followed, the opinion was expressed that the PLM was responsible for the actions of the police and had made it difficult for "white radicals" to aid in the Negro struggle. ~~X~~

(U) [NY T-228
August 14, 1964] ~~X~~

The arrest of [] on August 29, 1964 was printed in the August 30, 1964 late city edition of the "New York Herald Tribune". It set forth that [] had attempted to speak at an outdoor rally of the "Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party."

b6
b7c

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the NYL was held on August 31, 1964, and at this meeting a report was made on a Harlem street meeting held August 29, 1964. The meeting was regarded as a success in view of limited goals set up. It was reported, however, that only a small number of Negroes were in attendance at the meeting. It was proposed that street meetings be held in Harlem on a weekly basis for the next four weeks. It was further proposed that efforts be made for joint action with nationalist groups in an attack on both "capitalist" parties. The value of joint meetings was emphasized with the goal of drawing out the nationalists and inflicting pressure on them to speak out now and not be silent on the issue.

It was proposed and accepted that the SWP continue to have its own regular meetings but arrange a series of meetings involving black nationalists, also.

(U) [NY T-227
September 11, 1964] ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

A street meeting was held by the NYL at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem, on September 5, 1964. The rally was observed by SAS of the FBI and it was noted that a maximum of 50 people were present.

A panel discussion open to the public was held at SWP Headquarters in New York City, on September 18, 1964 on the issue of support for the Democratic Party. One of the speakers was PAUL BOUTELLE, who was violently anti-white and pro-black in his remarks. He said he wanted a totally black Freedom Now Party. He said this was necessary because the present system is politically, economically and socially oriented towards and controlled by the "white supremacist ruling class".

Another speaker, LEZ EDMOND, was also vigorously anti-white in his remarks. He, too, supported a Freedom Now Party consisting only of Negroes. He said that even if his own mother supported the white-dominated government, he would throw her out. He said he hoped there would be another CASTRO in the Latin American countries and more soldiers killed in Vietnam, because this would hasten the destruction of the political system in the United States.

(U)

NY T-230
September 22, 1964

- 208 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

3. Plans, Program and Directives
Appearing in SWP Publications and
Other Publicity Media

In the Spring 1963 edition of "International Socialist Review" an article by WILLIAM F. WARDE was printed entitled "The Emancipation Proclamation". WARDE wrote that in the 100 years since LINCOLN issued the Emancipation Proclamation, very little had been accomplished toward placing Negroes on an equal status with whites. He claimed that there had been a barrier between the white working class and the Negroes, which had prevented these groups from working together for their common good. He predicted that at present, however, there was an increasingly militant temper in the movement for racial equality which marked the beginning of a deep change in American life and politics. This, according to WARDE, had revolutionary implications, as before long the mass of workers would rebel against the "reactionary anti-labor policies" and bring them into opposition with the Administration. With this, both the Negro and worker segments would find themselves arrayed against the common foe.

WARDE claimed that these "anti-monopolist forces" would have to seek points of contact and mutual support and in their practical collaboration, prejudices would disappear and a new alliance would be formed. He concluded that the Emancipation Proclamation would be realized for blacks and whites alike in the freedom which a socialist America would bring.

Beginning in the Spring of 1963, "The Militant" began to advocate that Negroes in the South take up arms in self-defense during their integration struggles.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

In the issue of May 20, 1963, a statement from the SWP NC to President KENNEDY was printed which concluded that the right to self-defense was a basic human right. It was set forth that abled bodied men chosen by Birmingham's Negro community should be deputized and armed by the Federal Government for that city's self-defense and to exercise police powers.

In "The Militant", May 27, 1963, an editorial was printed setting forth that the Negroes of Birmingham stood unarmed against the law enforcement agencies in the city. The editorial thought all those for civil rights should let the Negroes of Birmingham and the South know that they support their right to arm themselves for the fight against "racist" attacks.

In "The Militant" of June 24, 1963, there was printed another article setting forth that the government had defaulted in police protection of Negroes. In view of this it was stated the Negroes had the right to arm and train themselves for self-defense. It was set forth that Negro neighbors should be protected and guards should be provided for Negro leaders to prevent their assassination.

"The Militant" in its issue of August 5, 1963, set forth that the Negro struggle had occupied the major attention at the 1963 SWP National Convention. It further set forth that this convention had an increased number of Negro delegates.

In the issue of "The Militant" dated August 19, 1963, there was printed under a page 1 banner headline a story hailing the proposal by "civil rights activists" to form a FNP. It was set forth that a FNP with candidates responsible only to the colored masses could rapidly become a real political power for the Negro revolution. It was further added that white unionists and militants could greet a FNP as a national ally in the fight against anti-labor forces which control the Democratic and Republican parties.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

There has been previously set forth information concerning SWP participation in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, through the sale of "The Militant".

In the issue of "The Militant" dated September 23, 1963, the lead story set forth that Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, had armed themselves and were patrolling their neighborhoods. The story went on to say that the self-defense measures taken by Birmingham's Negroes constituted the only protection they had. Law enforcement bodies were described as a constant threat to their safety. "The Militant" demanded that President KENNEDY deputize and arm the Negro people of Birmingham for self-defense and to send Federal troops to occupy Alabama to disarm the "racist police" and military forces there.

The January 13, 1964 issue of "The Militant" announced the candidacies of CLIFTON DE BERRY for President of the United States and EDWARD SHAW for Vice President. The candidates were quoted as saying they stood for "Freedom Now" and demanded that the Negroes' right to vote be enforced with integrated Federal troops. The candidates also upheld the right of Negroes to organize in self-defense against attack.

The January 14, 1964 edition of the "New York Times" carried an article setting forth that DE BERRY had been nominated by the SWP as its candidate for President. It further set forth that DE BERRY had been on a national speaking tour supporting the idea of a FNP as a step toward independent political action by labor and Negroes.

In the "New York Times" of January 15, 1964, an article was printed setting forth that [redacted] of the FNP, asserted that speeches by DE BERRY were tending to confuse the FNP with the SWP. [redacted] said there was no chance that his Party would endorse DE BERRY, the SWP candidate for President.

b6
b7c

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

The SWP election platform was printed in the issue of "The Militant" dated April 6, 1964. Concerning the Negroes, the platform had this to say:

"For Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities the problems are the most severe. Those employed usually draw the dirtiest, hardest, lowest-paid jobs. They are largely restricted to ghetto life in slum areas where they must pay high rent for squalid quarters. Their neighborhood schools are the poorest, most overcrowded, least well staffed. Such social services as are extended to them are at the lowest level. Police brutality is an unending part of their everyday existence, and most everywhere they go they face open or thinly-veiled discrimination that violates their human dignity and blights their lives.

"With great fanfare a token civil-rights bill is introduced into Congress where capitalist politicians will cynically play preelection politics with it. Negro freedom fighters peacefully demonstrating for their civil rights are subjected to brutal police attacks. Freedom fighters who defend themselves against white supremacist violence are framed up, as were four people recently convicted on fake "kidnap" charges in Monroe, North Carolina, and sentenced to long prison terms.

"Those who would maintain racial oppression have, as a current NAACP report correctly states, "resisted the Constitution and court rulings by force, by deceit, by tokenism, by stalling litigation and by such legislative maneuvers as the filibuster.

"Fed up with a century of tokenism, the Negro people are demanding freedom now, and they are fighting for it. Their mood was symbolized by the big Southern demonstrations last year, called to protest discrimination and segregation and to demand the right to vote. Wave after wave of Negro freedom fighters went up against police dogs and fire hoses; undaunted by mass arrests, they came out of jail determined to continue the battle for human dignity and elementary rights.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"In the giant March on Washington, sparked by the Southern demonstrations, Negroes came from all over the land to voice their demands for jobs and freedom. The big turnout reflected a rise in Northern militancy under the impetus of the Southern struggle. Rent strikes soon began in Northern cities where minorities are segregated in rat-infested slums. School boycotts followed in opposition to segregation of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the educational system. Negroes, and Puerto Ricans inspired by the Negro example, are demanding their democratic rights in the unions and pressing for union support of their right to full equality in employment.

"Confronted with a lack of response from conservative union officials, they are taking action on their own. Construction sites, hotels and other places are picketed to protest discrimination in hiring and to demand equal rights on the job. Demands are pressed for higher minimum-wage laws covering all workers and for a shorter work-week to provide more jobs. Protest demonstrations are conducted against police brutality and there is growing sentiment to exercise the constitutional right of self-defense against extra-legal hooligan attacks on civil-rights demonstrators.

"A group of prominent Negroes distributed a manifesto at the March on Washington calling for independent Negro political action. "One hundred years of waiting for Democratic and Republican politicians to correct our grievances is too long," they said. "We have to take our freedom; no one will hand it to us. That is why ... we call upon all who believe in true emancipation to join us in forming the Freedom Now Party."

"For these reasons the Socialist Workers Party supports independent Negro political action of the type manifested in the call for a Freedom Now Party."

~~SECRET~~